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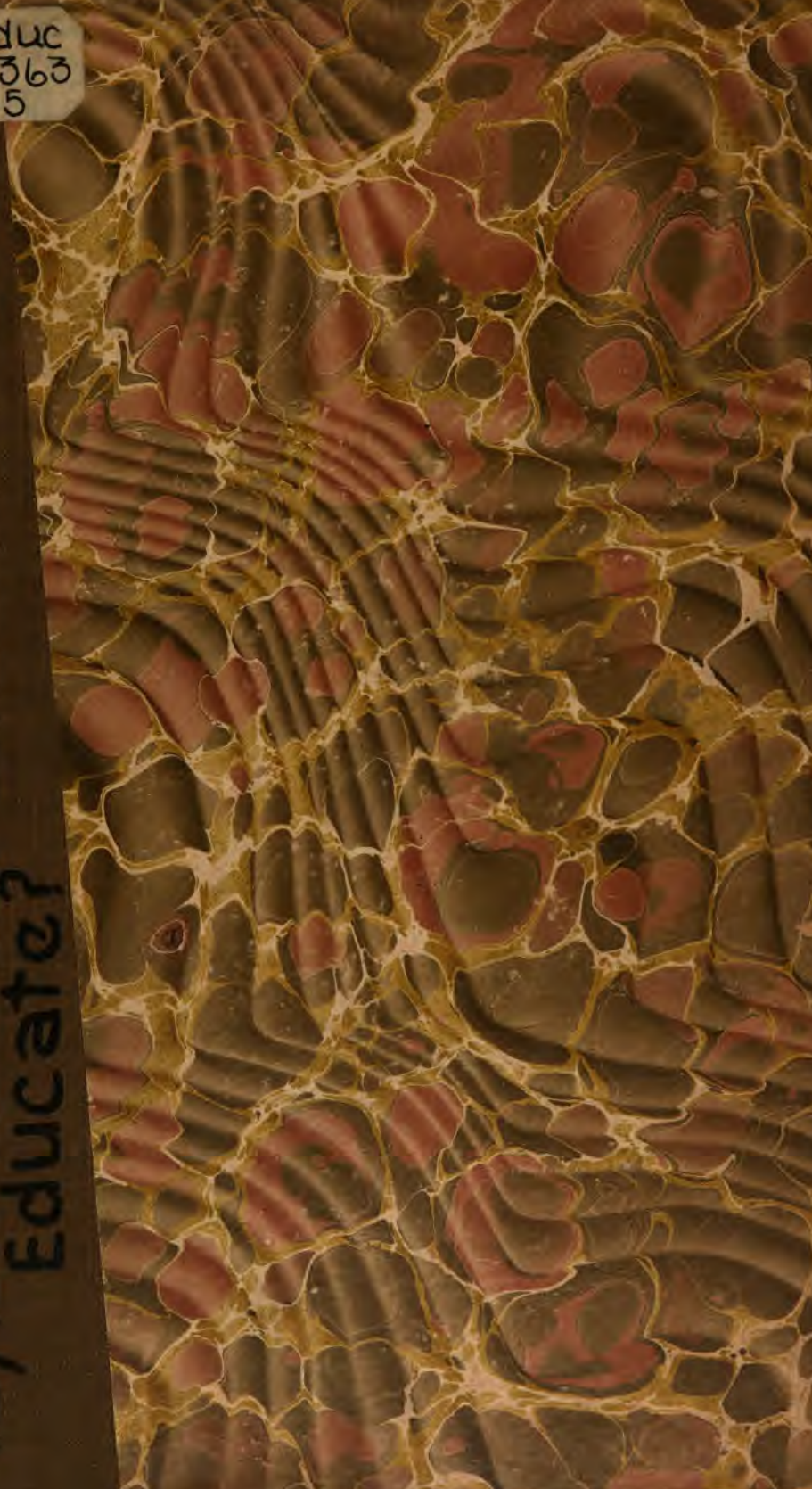
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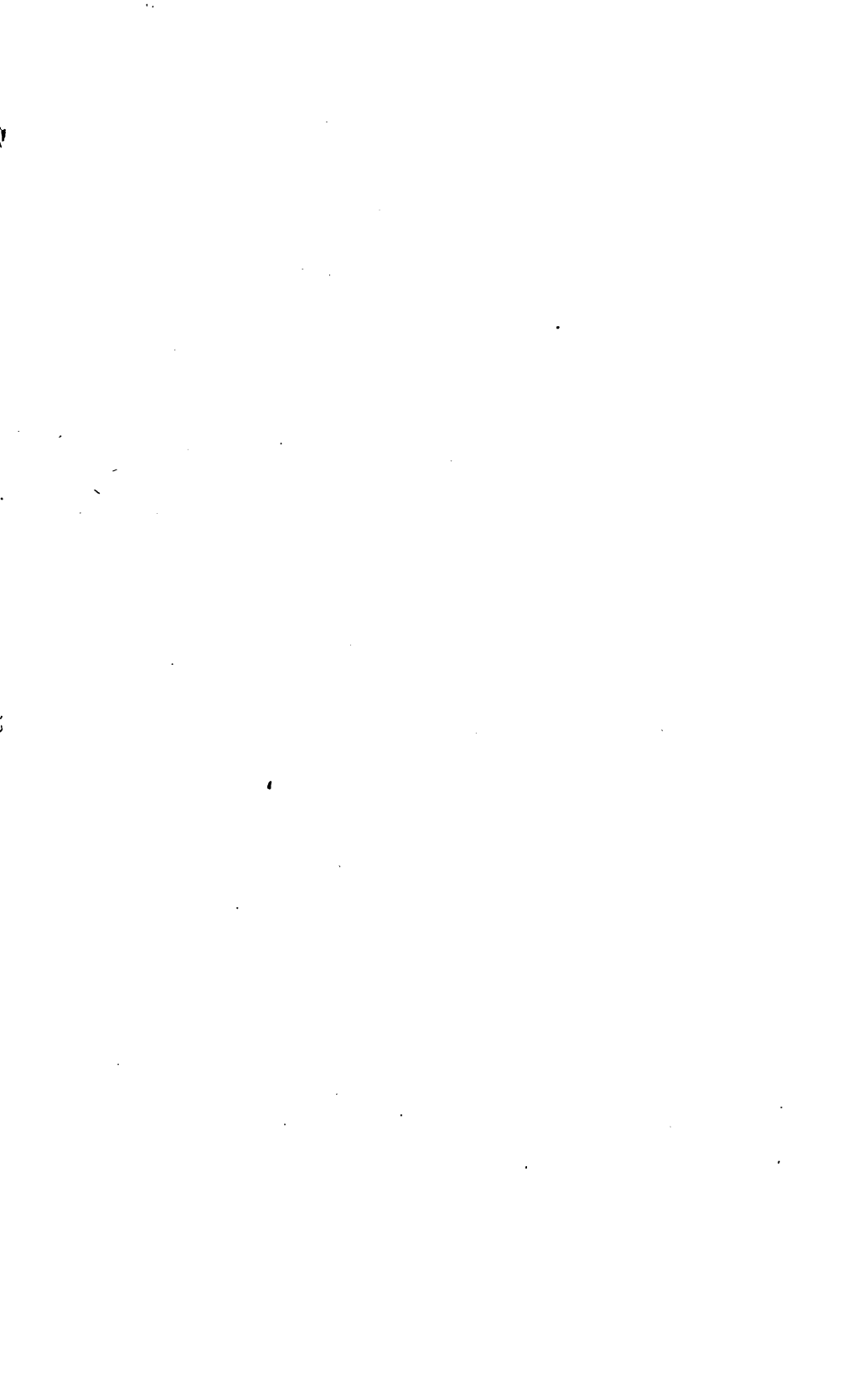


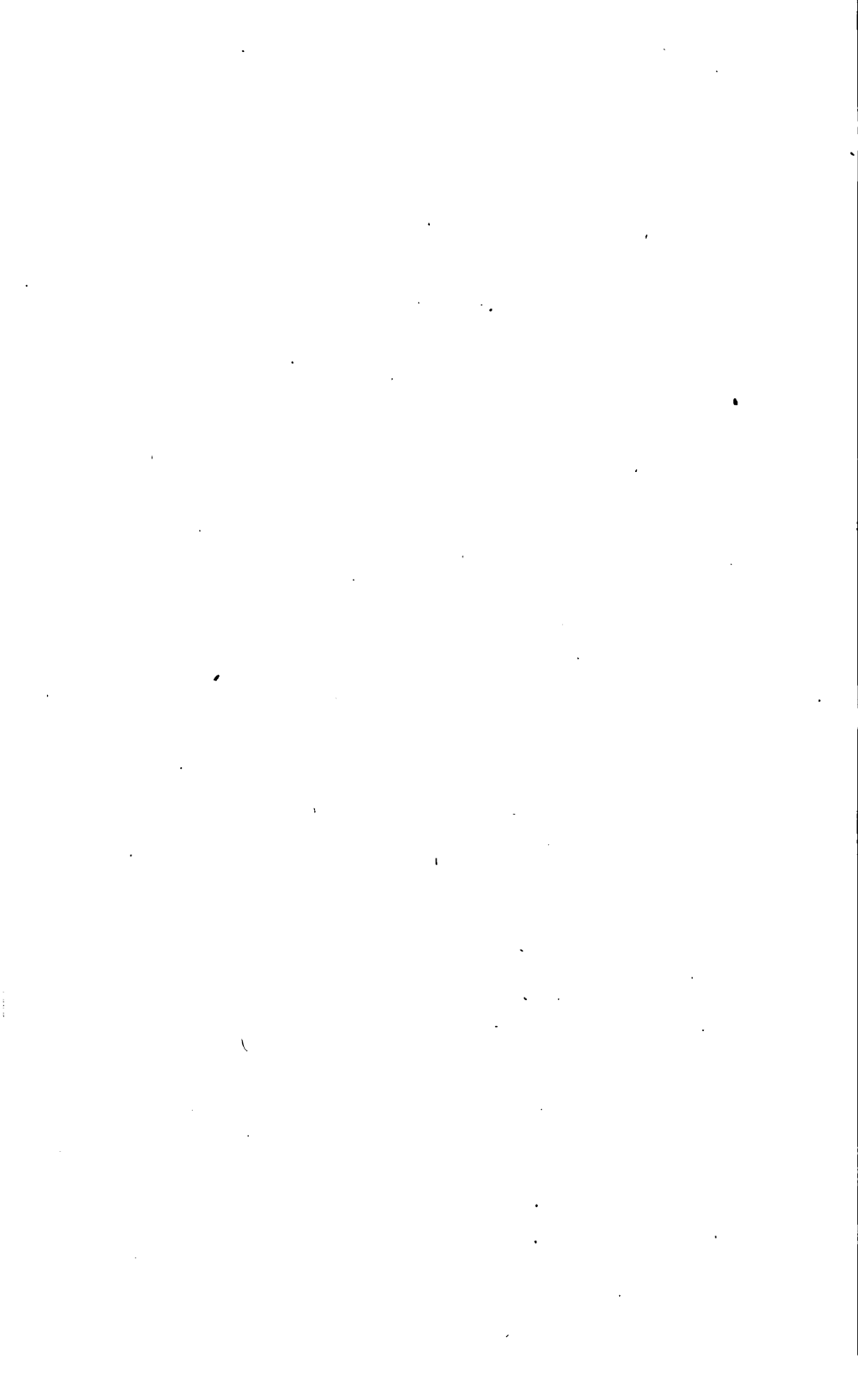
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# HOW FAR SHOULD A STATE UNDERTAKE TO EDUCATE?

OR,

A PLEA FOR THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM IN  
THE HIGHER EDUCATION.

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BY  
A CITIZEN OF NORTH CAROLINA.  
(C. E. TAYLOR.)

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A frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty.—CONSTITUTION OF NORTH CAROLINA, Art. I, Sec. 29.

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# HOW FAR SHOULD A STATE UNDERTAKE TO EDUCATE?

## I.

Is it possible to discuss in a calm and good-natured way some grave and practicable questions of public policy? The writer hopes so. At any rate he will make the attempt. In his own thinking he has reached certain definite and decided conclusions. But as he has pursued the lines of study and reflection which have led to these conclusions, his desire has been to see both sides—to see them, too, in that “dry light” which Lord Bacon so strongly commends, and unobscured by mists of prejudice. cal

When one considers the importance of these questions, the effect that his words may have, and the far-reaching results of decisions which may be reached, he cannot deal lightly or flippantly with such grave matters, or consciously allow any selfish motives to dominate his judgment or dictate his language.

And has he not the right to expect candid and respectful consideration of the views which may be advanced? The fact that they are held by very many thoughtful men in many parts of our country, would seem to demand that they should not be treated with ridicule or answered with epithets.

## II.

There are at present two widely divergent tendencies of opinion as to what is the wisest policy for a State to pursue with reference to the education of the young. In several States of the Union, each of these is claiming acceptance on the part of the people. What are these two opinions? Briefly stated, they are as follows:

1. That it is right and expedient for a State to undertake the education of all its youth, not only in the lower, but also in all the higher branches of instruction; and that provision should be made for this by taxation. And that if, as an incidental result of this policy, private or corporate institutions for higher learning be injured or destroyed, the State is not responsible therefor.

It may be remarked in passing, before stating the other opinion, that if it be right and expedient for a State to furnish for all its citizens adequate instruction—technical, professional, scientific and literary—in universities, colleges and academies, as well as in common schools, it would seem unnecessary for any private or corporate institutions to exist.

The late Prof. Mangum, of Chapel Hill, N. C., published an “open letter” a few years ago, in which he said: “If the State provides for secular education in a safe way and in a satisfactory degree, the church, in all its divisions, appears to have no reason to establish schools for such kinds of learning.” If his hypothesis be admitted, he was beyond all question right in this conclusion.

Is there any good ground for asking men and women to put a voluntary tax upon themselves for the support of higher education when they have already been taxed by the State for the same purpose? The writer confesses that if it be right and expedient for the State to cover the whole field of education from top to bottom, and if the State can do it without violating the principles of religious liberty, he can see no reason for such an appeal.

And, moreover, if the people endorse this view, and accept the duty of providing for the higher education of all who may desire it, he does not think that complaint as to competition can be reasonably made by any individuals or corporations engaged in the same work.

If the whole field belongs to the State, and the State, in the exercise of a right of eminent domain, chooses to occupy it, others who may enter it do so at their own risk. The State may rightfully complain of any invasion of its monopoly, but, if the



right of this monopoly be once recognized, no one has any good ground for objection to the incidental inconveniences caused by the State to individuals or corporations.

Some who, in the main, agree with the views of the writer are not willing to make such large concessions. But he cannot resist the conviction that they are necessary conclusions from the premises. As to whether the premises are true is another matter. This will be argued later on.

### III.

Some of those who favor State monopoly in education boldly announce their positions and even take the aggressive.

The position is clearly and frankly outlined by Acting President Frieze, of the University of Michigan. In his report to the Regents in 1880 he said: "Every educational want should be provided for here at home just as perfectly as if no other State nor any private institution were in existence." And in his Baccalaureate Address for 1887 he is reported to have said: "The people of Michigan adopted at the first, as a fundamental principle of their State policy, the idea of universal education at public expense—education, not only of the common school, but also in its higher grades and in all its branches—education in all its breadth and compass. \* \* \* It (the State) can leave no part of it to other hands; as justly might it delegate to some private agency any other part of its functions, as any part of its educational system; as properly consign its judiciary to a private corporation of lawyers, or its financial affairs to a syndicate of bankers, as to leave its work, or any part of it, to private corporations of any kind."

Now it is not proposed to argue at this point the question whether this policy is the wisest for Michigan and the other States of the Northwest, for whose educational systems, both lower and higher, magnificent provision was made by Federal grants before these States were ever organized. Even from these, however, may be heard an undertone of protest.

Dr. W. B. Williams, of Michigan, in a monograph on this subject ("The Duty of the State," etc., Beacon Press, Boston, 1891), writes: "Some years since, the president of a Christian college was invited to speak at a college alumni banquet in a Western city, and he says—'Just before the supper I fell into conversation with the president of the State University, who was to preside at the banquet, and, somewhat to my surprise, his frankness far exceeded his courtesy, and, with considerable earnestness, he argued that the State ought to control all education; that there was no need for any such institutions as I represented; and, said he, 'We mean to get you between the upper and the nether millstones and grind you out.'"

Dr. Williams continues: "Those who share these views \* \* \* seek to crowd the graduates of Christian colleges out of all prominent positions—such as superintendents of schools and principals of high schools—and to work in graduates of State institutions, that they may be the recruiting officers of those institutions. They belittle the work of the colleges and use what influence they may have to turn students away from them and to turn them toward the State institutions."

In his Inaugural Address in November, 1892, President Schurman, of Cornell University, appealed for an annual appropriation from the State of New York of not less than \$150,000, and said: \* \* \* "Shall we, then, entrust the cause of higher education to private universities? No. They are, in supply, too capricious; in maintenance, too precarious; in efficiency, too variable; and in the charge for instruction they are too far beyond the means of the masses of the people. Denominational and private colleges belong to an era which is passing away."

In July, 1893, Dr. Ely, of the University of Wisconsin, delivered in Albany, New York, an address in which he said: "It is not proposed at the present time to discuss the question of the common schools, but it is simply asserted that least of all is there need of separate denominational institutions for the higher education."

President Ely quotes from President Jesse of the University of Missouri as follows: "It would be a good thing if the churches would sell out, even at a sacrifice, their colleges, and use the proceeds for theological schools near the best universities."

Dr. Ely elaborates and strongly advocates the plan proposed by Jefferson, that "various religious denominations should group their educational efforts, so far as these touch the higher education, around the State universities of the country."

The address of Dr. Ely is throughout in admirable spirit. The Jeffersonian idea, along with the dangers which might arise from excessive centralization, would obviously have its advantages. The writer recalls the fact that, some years ago,

when the question of the location of a theological seminary was under debate, he suggested in a religious paper that it might be wise to consider Jefferson's proposition, and to locate it at the University of Virginia. And if the "Michigan idea" in education shall find acceptance with the people, and they shall consent to support all higher education by taxation, it will unquestionably be wise to adopt the course recommended by Dr. Ely. But it is hard to believe that, when the matter is thoroughly understood, the people will assume this large responsibility.

#### IV.

There is, however, little room for doubt that the idea—in whole or in part—of State monopoly in higher education, has taken root in the minds of some in our own State. And it is not difficult to discern indications in North Carolina of a purpose to inaugurate the Michigan plan—in whole or in part—either immediately or gradually and ultimately.

Those who favor it, it is believed, are not numerous; but they are highly influential by reason of their high character and their social and political position. No question is raised as to the honesty and sincerity of their convictions. As patriotic citizens, they believe that they are working for the good of the State.

As to whether they are favoring and pursuing the best method to secure that good, is certainly open for debate. And the whole plan ought to be thoroughly debated before final adoption, if it is likely to destroy among us more education than it can create, and if, in its execution, public revenues are to be used which could be more wisely employed in lengthening the terms of the public schools.

It will be seen that the principles involved lie far deeper than any merely superficial questions as to comparative excellence of institutions or competitions at minor points. They involve in their decision the ultimate life or death of many institutions. Others, which may survive, will in course of time be quietly side-tracked, and the whole right-of-way will be given to a vast and complicated system under State control.

The writer is especially desirous of being understood to say, not that there is a purpose or intent to injure or destroy these interests, but that such results as have been suggested will be the natural outcome of causes which have already begun to operate.

The tendencies are too manifest to require much discussion. A large proportion of those who seek higher education expect to teach for a longer or shorter period. Free tuition and the monopoly of influence for appointment to positions in the graded schools will naturally draw the great majority of this numerous class to State institutions. And with the many young men who have political aspirations, the arguments used for attendance upon State universities are very potent. These and other motives will largely increase the numbers of students at the State institutions. This increase will be made a plea for larger appropriations from the State Treasury. These, when granted, will multiply attractions. Then as soon as it can be enacted by a Legislature, unlimited free tuition will be granted to all State students. On the other hand, the patronage of other colleges will continue to decrease. Their incomes from students' fees will gradually cease entirely. In the absence of any hopeful outlook for the future, buildings will cease to be erected, and endowments to be enlarged. Their corps of professors must be cut down to the limit of support afforded by endowments already secured, and those who remain will be compelled to instruct numerous small classes in several departments. The work done under these conditions will hasten the end, when a melancholy silence will reign in halls of learning which have been dedicated to higher education under Christian influence.

When, a year ago, efforts were made to secure an understanding between some of the State and private institutions, the writer believed that there was a field which it was not likely that any private institution would be able, at present, effectively to enter, and was in hearty sympathy with the efforts made at that time to remove existing friction by placing some reasonable limit to the work to be done, both by the public and private institutions. These efforts met with opposition—perhaps with ridicule. A year of study and reflection has convinced him that the question is a far deeper and wider one than he at first thought. His own opinions have undergone more modifications than he expected when he began the investigation. He is now persuaded that, while compromises may be made and are perhaps desirable, they will

only serve as temporary expedients. Either this claim as to the functions of a State in education must be repudiated by the people, or else very many private enterprises must die. He does not expect any immediate general acceptance of the views which he will attempt to present. He was so slow and reluctant in reaching his own conclusions, that he can afford to be very tolerant with those who may not agree with him. But he cannot help believing that, in the course of time, conclusions more or less similar to those which he has reached will generally prevail, or else that entirely different conceptions as to the functions of government will supplant those which are now generally held.

## V.

If this first opinion can be sustained, and if the people of any State decide to accept the whole work of education, the higher as well as the lower, as one of the functions of their State, then those who control the majority of the colleges and academies for both sexes within that State may expect, not only to surrender the hope of larger and better equipment, but in the course of time, to close their institutions entirely.

If the revenues of any State are to be used, not in order to, but in such a way as to compete with colleges and academies in doing the work which the latter can do without cost to the State, their ultimate doom is sealed. They may struggle on for a few years, but the end will be only a question of time.

If, for instance, a State shall accept as one of its functions the whole duty of transportation (a policy, by the way, which Dr. Ely is said to endorse), and shall use revenues secured by taxation for cheapening the cost of the transportation of freight and passengers, private enterprise will be compelled to abandon that field.

Not a few people were amused when they read, last February, in a Raleigh newspaper which had thrown the weight of its influence against the colleges in their protest, the following editorial: "When we hear a Senator declare on the floor of the State Senate that a railroad enterprise which would shorten the distance from one city in the State to another forty miles should be prevented by legislation because it might jeopardize the interest of the State in a railroad, it appears to us that it is time for the State to so husband her resources as not to allow them to defeat the enterprising spirit of her citizens. The State should never own property of a character to force her to become the rival of her own citizens in any field of enterprise. We state a principle which we believe to be sound."

Illustrations could equally well be drawn from other industries. Could any enterprise expect to maintain itself when brought into competition with similar industries subsidized with funds raised by taxation?

The above remarks on the first opinion have been made, not in order to seek to prove at present that it is not best for a State to undertake to cover the whole educational field, but only to show how fundamental are the principles involved, and how far reaching are likely to be the results of the policy.

It is believed that this opinion, when its underlying principle is tested and its necessary tendencies are made manifest, can be defended only on a paternal theory of government. And it will be shown hereafter that its adoption would greatly increase the difficulty of dealing with the claims made by Catholics for distribution of public funds appropriated for education.

## VI.

2. On the other hand, there are those who believe that it is not wise for a State to undertake functions which can be equally well performed by private or corporate parties; that a State should maintain a system of public school instruction for the children of all classes; that this amount of educational work by the State cannot be done by private enterprise, and is justified on the ground of its necessity for the protection and preservation of the State, and on this ground alone; that the needs of this common school system are so great and pressing, at least in the South, that the State should spend all of its revenues which are available for educational purposes for the supply of these needs; that larger and better results can be secured in higher education under the voluntary system than under any other, and that the use of revenues derived from taxation of all the people for the education of only a few is not in accord with the genius and equity of free institutions.

It is now proposed to discuss these two opinions which represent, as will be seen, very different conceptions as to the proper functions of a State. No reference will

be made to the several colleges established by Federal grants for technical instruction. The same principles do not apply to these as to institutions established and supported, in whole or in part, with means raised by taxation. And no discrimination will be made between the education of young men and young women. It has often been said of late that, if it be right for a State to provide for the education of young men, it is also right that it should provide equally good education for young women. The writer believes that this claim can be sustained. And it will also be seen that it is believed that there is as good ground (if not better) for the support by the State of secondary education in academies as of the higher education in colleges and universities. And, moreover, it will be assumed that the State, having undertaken this work, is committed to supply all the demand which may be made upon it. In other words, that the institutions for doing work in higher education must be sufficiently large or sufficiently numerous to educate all who may apply. There may be no discrimination against any individual who can comply with prescribed conditions.

It is proposed to ask and to try to answer three questions:

1. Is it *right* for a State to undertake to supply all the demand for higher education within her borders?
2. Is it *expedient* for a State in the present condition of North Carolina to undertake to do so?
3. Is it *possible* for a State to supply the kind of training desirable for her youth without committing itself to some special form of religious belief?

## VII.

"Now, if the State provides for secular education in a safe way and in a satisfactory degree, the Church, in all its divisions, appears to have no reason to establish schools for such kinds of learning." From "Church and State, &c.," by the late Professor A. W. Mangum, Chapel Hill, N. C.

It has been conceded that there is no need for corporate and private institutions of any kind for higher education, provided it be (1) right, (2) expedient, for the State to furnish all such education, and provided (3) that a State is at liberty to provide Christian education.

It remains, therefore, for those who are on the defensive against the policy of universal education by the State to examine carefully these three conditions.

First, then, IS IT RIGHT FOR A STATE TO UNDERTAKE TO SUPPLY ALL THE DEMAND FOR HIGHER EDUCATION WITHIN HER BORDERS?

Let it be remembered that the question under discussion here is in regard to the higher education. Few, probably, will raise any question as to the right and duty of a State to maintain a system of common schools for the instruction of children of all classes. It is almost universally conceded that education under the control of the State to such an extent as will enable the recipients intelligently to exercise the duties of citizenship in a government which is of and by the people should be maintained and controlled by the State. But it may add clearness to the argument against State control of higher education if some emphasis be given to the ground for State support of common schools. This ground is not, primarily, the benefit which accrues to the recipient, but the good which accrues to the State. This idea seems to be brought out in the following extracts from the writings and addresses of men whose opinions are worthy of the highest consideration.

Washington Gladden, in his "Applied Christianity," says (page 288, Ed. of Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1887): "It is scarcely necessary to trace the close connection between the church and the school in the early New England commonwealths. From these came forth the impulse which has made education universal all over the Northern States of this Union; so that its schools are the earliest care and the loudest boast of every sprouting emporium and every noisy mart; so that the pioneer's axe loses its virgin edge upon the timber of which the log school house is builded.

"The reasoned basis of popular education in the popular mind is twofold; it includes philanthropy and self-defence. A considerable number of our citizens recognize the latter as the only admissible ground on which a public school system can rest. Philanthropy they do not believe in; or at any rate, they contend that the State has no right to go into the business of philanthropy. But the right of self-preservation does belong to the State, and if popular ignorance threatens its security, and even its very existence, then the State has the right to provide, and even to require, popular

education. That this is a valid basis of State action on the subject, so far as rights go, will not be disputed."

And on page 300 he says: "It is sometimes said that the State owes to its children only the rudiments of a general education; that it ought to equip every citizen for the discharge of his political duties, but that it is not under obligation to teach men trades or professions; that the State is going a step too far when it undertakes to make men lawyers or doctors or carpenters or machinists. The objection is valid."

Ex-Governor Northrop wrote as follows several years ago for the *Independent* (New York): "Taxes for the education of children in Common Schools are founded primarily, not on the idea of benefiting children or parents, but on the broader view that the State has a proprietary interest in all persons and property within its bounds. The State has duties as well as rights, and one of these is the securing a good common school education to the children of all classes. It is the duty and right of the State to defend itself by a humanizing and civilizing education against what would otherwise become a degraded and dangerous class in society. Better than fleets and forts for security and prosperity is universal education, which is the supreme guarantee of our liberties, the condition of our prosperity, and the safeguard of our institutions. Universal suffrage without universal education means universal anarchy."

Ex-Governor Winthrop, in his Yorktown Address, expressed these views: "It is one of the great rights of a free people to be educated and trained up from childhood to that ability to govern themselves, which is the largest element in republican self-government, and without which, all self-government must be a failure or a farce. It is indeed primarily a right of our children, and they are not able to enforce or vindicate it for themselves. But let us beware of subjecting ourselves to the ineffable reproach of robbing the children of their bread and casting it before dogs, by wasting millions on corrupt or extravagant projects, and starving our common schools. Free governments must stand or fall with common schools. These, and these alone, can supply the firm foundation."

Professor Woodrow Wilson says in "The State" (page 667, D. C. Heath & Co., 1893): "Popular education is necessary for the preservation of those conditions of freedom, political and social, which are indispensable to free individual development. And, in the second place, no instrumentality less universal in its power and authority than government can secure popular education. In brief, in order to secure popular education, the action of society as a whole is necessary; and popular education is indispensable to that equalization of the conditions of personal development which we have taken to be the proper object of society. Without popular education, moreover, no government that rests upon popular action can long endure; the people must be schooled in the knowledge, and, if possible, in the virtues, upon which the maintenance and success of free institutions depend."

Dr. J. L. M. Curry said several years ago before the Teachers' Association at Hartford, Conn.: "We felicitate ourselves that our experiment of self-government has been thus far a success, and yet the glory that has been achieved only enhances the magnitude of the trust, the weight of the responsibility, to transmit unimpaired and fortified the representative institutions we have inherited. The basal idea of these institutions is the civil equality of man as man. Behind the ballot should stand intelligence. Such writers on the English constitution as Montesquieu and Blackstone, in writing on suffrage, concur that those should be excluded from voting whose situation is such that they cannot be presumed to have a will of their own, or what is equivalent, an independent and intelligent will. \* \* It seems a truism that education and the right of voting should be co-extensive. One invested with this prerogative of freedom, having such potencies, should obviously be able to read the names on the ballot which accomplishes noiselessly in America what in other lands requires standing armies or a revolution. Mere suffrage is not a safeguard. \* \* It does not necessarily ensure peace, prosperity, or a virtuous administration. A mass of ignorant voters awakens fearful apprehensions. The adult illiteracy in the United States is appalling. Of the 1,580,000 illiterate voters in the United States, the Southern States furnish 317,281 white, and 820,022 colored. This illiteracy is a standing menace to republican institutions."

It will, therefore, be not only admitted, but urged by the writer that it is both the right and duty of the State to maintain common schools for all classes of children.

## VIII.

It would seem that the same principles do not apply to the education of a limited number of its citizens by the State in academies, colleges and universities.

There are two very different views as to the proper functions of government. One is the theory of Paternalism; the other is the *Laissez Faire* (or "let alone") theory. The former assumes that it is the duty, or at least the privilege, of a State to assume a fatherly relation toward its citizens, providing for many of their needs, and looking after many of their individual wants. This idea, where it still prevails, is the survival of the old notion of "The Divine Right of Kings," and it is not out of accord with patriarchal theories of government. Protective tariffs, great pension systems, as well as government control of education in colleges and universities, and establishments of religion in State churches are the natural outcome of this theory. There is something fascinating about the idea until its claims are closely inspected, and not a few vigorous writers, especially in Europe, have sought to vindicate it. Strong sentimental appeals may be based upon it, but it will be found that if the fundamental principles of this theory shall once be admitted, the gap will be let down for unlimited interference by the State in every department of business. It is impossible to mark the point where one can say, "Thus far shalt thou come and no further." If a State may furnish education below cost to the recipient, because such education is a good thing for the individual to possess, why may it not furnish to its citizens blankets, agricultural implements and other articles of utility and comfort? Even the familiar "forty acres and a mule" would not be so good a working capital for a young man or woman as a first-class education.

Herbert Spencer, in his "Social Statics" (page 303, Ed. of D. Appleton & Co.) says: "The expediency-philosophy, of which this general state superintendence is a practical expression, embodies the belief that government ought not only to guarantee men in the unmolested pursuit of happiness, but should provide the happiness for them and deliver it at their doors. Now, no scheme could be more self-defeating, for no scheme could be more completely at variance with the constitution of things. \* \* To do anything for him (the citizen) by some artificial agency, is to supersede certain of his powers—is to leave them unexercised, and therefore to diminish his happiness. To healthily developed citizens, therefore, State aid is doubly detrimental. It injures them both by what it takes ('in the form of taxes') and by what it does."

If space admitted, many pages might be quoted from this eminent writer, in which, with great wealth of illustration, he argues against the paternal conception of government.

If, however, it should be claimed at this point that this higher education is given by the State, not for the sake of the individual, but for the good of the State, it will be a sufficient answer to show that all the needs of the State for higher education among its citizens can be abundantly supplied under the voluntary system, and without cost to the State. And this, it is believed, can be satisfactorily demonstrated.

The fact, which can be shown, that there is more and better education in certain States where higher education is not supported by the State, than in the South, where for many decades the State University system has prevailed, would seem to show that care for higher education is not a necessary function of the State.

There is unquestionably need for teachers and for educated men and women as leaders in every community. If it were not possible for this admitted need to be supplied in any other way, it might be necessary for the State to make some provision for it. But that it could be otherwise supplied is at least suggested by the fact that in the South the great majority of the teachers and a large proportion of the leaders have not come out of the State colleges.

It will be no answer to the argument which the writer is seeking to make, to say that it can be used with equal force against government control of banking, the post-office, and other functions of government which are usually admitted to be necessary, and therefore proper. It cannot be so used. If all of these enterprises could be safely and effectively managed without any governmental interference, it could fairly be used to overthrow the position taken in regard to State interference in higher education. It will be seen, therefore, that very much depends upon the answer finally given to the question: Can the higher education be as well cared for by private enterprise as by the State? It is hoped by the writer that he can show that it can, and that the State is subject to some necessary limitations from which private and corporate bodies are free, in their work for higher education.

## IX.

The other theory is that it is not wise for a State to undertake any functions which can be as well performed by private or corporate enterprise. According to this view, a State should provide for the protection of all its citizens, administer justice, and insure the perpetuation of the liberties of the people. But, so far as possible, the responsibility of self-support, self-development, etc., should be left to the people themselves. In cases of great public need, where private enterprise will not or cannot enter the field effectively, it may become a clear duty for the State to do so. But this point should be carefully watched, as should also be the numberless enterprises which are sought to be justified by the "General Welfare" clause of our Federal Constitution.

It is believed that in proportion as any people are thrown upon their own resources and left free to develop along the lines suggested by their needs, self-interest and sense of duty, while the State sees to it that no individual invades the rights of another, in person or property, the highest general prosperity will result. Those who hold this opinion admit that the State is justified in supporting a system of public schools, because it is essential to the making of a self-governing people, and is a work of too much magnitude to be undertaken by individuals or corporations. But they do not admit that it is necessary, or, therefore, right for a State to undertake the support or control of higher education at all.

The contrast between the two theories is well presented by President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University. The address from which the following extracts are made was delivered several years ago before the National Educational Association. His subject was "A National University." The principles enunciated are, however, of universal application.

"In Continental Europe all universities are subsidized by government. Such is the custom of these countries—a custom which is certainly not the outgrowth of free institutions. \* \* The general notion that a beneficent government should provide and control an elaborate organization for teaching, just as it maintains an army, a navy, or a post-office, is of European origin, being a legitimate corollary to the theory of government by divine right. It is said that the State is a person, having a conscience and a moral responsibility; that the government is the visible representative of a people's civilization, and the guardian of its honor and morals, and should be the embodiment of all that is high and good in the people's character and aspirations. This moral person, this corporate representative of a Christian nation, has high duties and functions commensurate with its great powers, and none more imperative than that of diffusing knowledge and advancing science.

"I desire to state this argument for the conduct of high educational institutions by government as a matter of abstract duty, with all the force that belongs to it, for under an endless variety of thin disguises, and with all sorts of amplifications and dilutions it is a staple commodity with writers upon the relation of government to education. The conception of government upon which this argument was based is obsolescent everywhere. In a free community the government does not hold this parental or patriarchal—I should better say, God-like position. \* \* The doctrine of State personality and conscience, and the whole argument of the dignity and moral elevation of a Christian nation's government, as the basis of government duties, are natural enough under 'Grace of God governments,' but they find no ground of practical application to modern republican confederations; they have no bearing on governments as purely human agencies, with defined powers and limited responsibilities. Moreover, for most Americans, these arguments prove a great deal too much; for, if they have the least tendency to persuade us that governments should direct any part of secular education, with how much greater force do they apply to the conduct by government of the religious education of the people. \* \* Now, if a beneficent Christian government may rightly leave the people to provide themselves with religious institutions, surely it may leave them to provide suitable universities for the education of their youth. And here, again, the question is by no means synonymous with the question, 'Shall the country have good university education or not?' The only question is, Shall we have a university supported and controlled by government, or shall we continue to rely upon universities supported and controlled by other agencies? \* \* \*

"We, indeed, want to breed scholars, artists, poets, historians, novelists, engineers, physicians, jurists, theologians and orators; but first of all we want to breed a race of

independent, self-reliant freemen, capable of helping, guiding and governing themselves. Now the habit of being helped by the government, even if it be to things good in themselves—to churches, universities and railroads—is a most insidious and irresistible enemy of republicanism; for the very essence of republicanism is self-reliance. With the continental nations of Europe, it is an axiom that the government is to do everything, and is responsible for everything. \* \* This abject dependence on the government is an accursed inheritance from the days of the divine right of kings. Americans, on the contrary, maintain precisely the opposite theory, namely, that government is to do nothing not expressly assigned it to do; that it is to perform no function which any private agency can perform as well, and that it is not to do a public good even, unless that good be otherwise unattainable. It is hardly too much to say that this doctrine is the foundation of our public liberty. So long as the people are really free, they will maintain it in theory and in practice. \* \* The fatal objection to this subsidizing process is that it saps the foundations of public liberty. The only adequate securities of public liberty are the national habits, traditions and character acquired and accumulated in the practice of liberty and self-control. Interrupt these traditions, break up these habits, or cultivate the opposite ones, or poison that national character, and public liberty will suddenly be found defenceless.

"We deceive ourselves dangerously when we think or say that education, whether primary or university, can guarantee republican institutions. Education can do no such thing. A republican people should indeed be educated and intelligent, but it by no means follows that an educated and intelligent people will be republican. \* \* Let us cling fast to the genuine American method \* \* in the matter of public instruction. The essential features of that system are local taxes for universal elementary education, voted by the citizens themselves; local elective boards to spend the money raised by taxation and to control the schools; and, for the higher grades of instruction, permanent endowments administered by incorporated bodies of trustees. This is the American voluntary system in sharp contrast with the military, despotic organization of public institutions which prevails in Prussia and most other States of continental Europe. Both systems have peculiar advantages, the crowning advantage of the American method being that it breeds freemen."

The (English) Quarterly Review for October, 1893, also presents a comparison between the working of the two theories: "This idea of the individual employing, in free conjunction with his fellow citizens, the social forms which he can modify at pleasure, instead of being employed and moulded by them, runs through American society from end to end. The originality of the American mind is shown precisely at this point, where it differs as much, to say the least, from the French, with their bureaucracy and their despotism, as it does from the conservative English. In all these varieties of government \* \* the small number who have held political office were not only authorized, but required to see to it that a given ideal should be realized by the people. They have been looked upon as creators of a definite type of education, of religious training, or of artistic culture, \* \* as charged with the responsibility of the nation in much the same sense as a father is charged with the proper bringing up of his children. So familiar and so sacred is this notion to Europeans, that any assault upon it, even now, is thought by most to be a token of a godless and profligate disposition." But in America "the functions of a Church, or a University, or an Academy of Science and Art, all of which have been exercised directly by European governments, or under their supervision and influence, in America belong to private and voluntary associations, which last only so long as the individuals composing them think fit, and not a moment longer. \* \* Universities abound in America of varying excellence. \* \* But their quaint personal names would be proof enough, were any needed, that to private individuals their foundation has been due, as by private boards of management they are carried on. \* \* Their standing with the public depends solely on the success which they happen to achieve. \* \* Science, research, and intellectual training, when it passes the standard of the common schools, are no more established than is religion. Yet on this account, as Americans believe, and as Mr. Bryce repeats, the principle of individual beneficence has grown mightily. \* \* And throughout the country, hospitals and seats of learning, just endowed, seem to affirm the law which Mr. Spencer formulates, that, with free institutions, private persons will of themselves undertake all that paternal governments have attempted for the happiness of their subjects. The advantage, it is clear, remains with the American system."



It is, of course, conceded that the people of a State, in the exercise of their sovereignty, have the right to adopt the paternal theory of government, if they choose to do so. But if they do so, they must be consistent, and carry it out in practice in all directions. The giving of higher education by a State can be justified only on the principles of paternalism in State policy. Unless, therefore, they are willing to accept these principles, it is inconsistent for the people to provide higher education by taxation. And practice which is not in harmony with accepted principles is not right.

If it be right and expedient for a State to furnish higher education under Christian auspices to all applicants, it is hard to see the need for private and corporate institutions or to entertain much hope for their continued prosperity. It has been argued that it is not right, because, in doing so, the State is inconsistent. It commits itself to a line of policy which, if carried out logically in all directions, would revolutionize all our economic conditions. But, if the principle on which State control of higher education is based be a correct principle, it ought to be generally applied. If its general application cannot be defended, on what ground is its special application to the higher education based? Not, surely, on the ground of necessity, for it will be shown hereafter that better results in both higher and lower education have been reached in those States which do not undertake to furnish higher education, but endorse the Voluntary Principle.

## X.

Another ground for questioning this right would seem to be the fact that, while all the people are taxed for the support of State universities, colleges, and academies, only a few, in the nature of the case, can avail themselves of the privileges thus afforded. And this comparatively small number could certainly secure similar opportunities for higher culture without the people being taxed for the purpose.

In an address at Mont Eagle, Tennessee, Bishop Atticus G. Haywood, of the Methodist Church, expressed his views on this point as follows:

"The arguments that sustain the principle of elementary education at public expense do not apply to the luxuries of education. The support of colleges and universities by taxation is foreign to the principles which underlie the Common School system. College education at public expense is un-American; it is at home in monarchical countries; it does not belong to us. Higher education is not a legitimate function of government. College training is not necessary to qualify the people to be good citizens; the arguments that demand the public school for the elementary education of the whole people, forbid the education of a few in college or university at public expense. \* \* In any country, the constituency of the college is a very small one compared with the masses of the people. I have in mind a State college that registered last year 204 students in a State whose population is well on to two millions. Yet the whole people, rich and poor, white and black, were taxed to give free college education to these 204 youths,—most of them sons of rich or well-to-do people. Tuition is the least part of college education; it would be more righteous to tax the people to pay for the board and clothing of these students, for then the poor as well as the rich would have a chance at the benefits of college or university education provided for by the taxation of the whole people.

"Higher education there must be, else there will presently be an end of all efficient elementary education. If it could not be provided except through colleges and universities supported by the State, then the argument for taxing everybody to give free tuition to the children of a few comfortable citizens would be stronger. But higher education does not depend upon State colleges and universities.

"What are the facts in the case? First, the colleges and universities that are not in any way related to the State educate vastly more students than the State institutions educate. To say the least, they do as good work as the State schools do. The facts require a stronger statement: with only two or three exceptions in the United States, the State colleges do not rank with institutions not connected with the State. To mention three of the older and one of the new, where many might be mentioned, how many State institutions rank with Yale or Princeton or Harvard or Johns Hopkins, either as to the number of students or the quality of the work?"

President Dreher, of Roanoke College, Va., referring to this last remark, says: "And it may be added that a higher degree of confidence is felt by the public in the continued good management of Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Johns Hopkins by

their Boards of Trustees than would be felt if these institutions were placed under the control of the political parties in power in the States in which these universities are situated."

The amount which it costs a State to educate each student at one of its institutions may be known by dividing the amount of the annual appropriation by the number of students in attendance. Where the appropriation is for plant or betterments, it would not be right to count it as expended for any one single year. Be the amount of expenditure on the individual student small or large, is it an equitable use of money raised by taxation? Certainly it is, provided that the voters of a State are thoroughly informed on the whole subject, and then, with their eyes wide open, voluntarily tax themselves. And if, after thorough discussion of the whole question from various points of view, the people who ultimately constitute the State, decide that they wish the State to undertake to furnish higher education for all, and that they are willing to pay the expense of supplying it, then the expression of their wish ought to be accepted by all as a decision of the question, whatever damage may be wrought thereby to other interests.

But is it at all an open question as to how they would vote, if, after considering the matter in all its bearings, they had an opportunity to vote on this single question, unembarrassed by any other question of public interest?

Grants from State legislatures for institutions of higher learning are not usually the result of a spontaneous demand on the part of the people.

The president of a western college has recently written: "Great State universities may arise, not as a product of the people of the State, but as the construction of men peculiarly interested in them as institutions, who, coming before legislatures, in the name of 'liberal education,' and appealing to State pride, secure appropriations of the money of the slow-thinking people. These institutions, by a dazzling display of material equipments, may turn away the young man or young woman from the Christian college, which is rich in unpurchasable spiritual influences."

Dr. Nunnally, late President of Mercer University, Georgia, has expressed the following views which apply to the point under consideration: "State education should never have advanced to a grade of scholarship in which the recipient is more benefited than the State. That education which blesses the recipient, the individual, more than it blesses the State is evidently a boon, a luxury, an accomplishment, which the State is under no obligations to bestow. The State ceases to aim simply at self-protection, and becomes a dispenser of alms, a distributor of favor; and the government degenerates into an administration of partiality. Higher education by which the recipient is more benefited than the commonwealth that bestows it, is but a species of refined, legalized communism. The true province of the State is to protect; when it proposes to do more, it is guilty of usurpation. \* \* The State should confine its course of instruction to a curriculum, the attainment of which would benefit all the people, and be equally attainable by every citizen. To feed the poor may possibly be the duty of a good government, but to feed them on costly dainties and lodge them in residences of palatial luxury would evidently be transcending the limits of a wise administration. I ask what right has the State to tax its citizens to clothe the bodies of a few in purple and fine linen, and fit them up to fare sumptuously every day? What better right has it to levy a tax to clothe the mind in mental broad cloth and feed the intellect on rare dainties? \* \* The higher education of the people by the State is a fearful mistake. It is impossible to make it universal, and it is therefore unfair and unjust."

The late Bishop McTyeire, of the Methodist Church, has expressed very nearly the same views: "Not a few thoughtful persons take the ground that States should confine their work to common school education, and that with colleges and universities they properly have nothing to do. Primary instruction, including what has facetiously been called the three R's, reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic, is almost a natural requisite for citizenship. \* \* People must not starve, but the public purse may not be drawn upon to feed them on turtle soup and plum pudding. The key of knowledge has been put into their hands by the public schools. If they have taste or aptitude for greater things, they may be left to make their way up."

## XI.

It may be considered by some a sufficient answer to the views which have been presented, to say: "The right of the State to supply higher education has long been more or less generally recognized, and it is too late to raise the question now."

The truth seems to be that the long history or traditions of no merely human institution afford sufficient reason for its continued existence. Its permanence ought in every case to be justified by considerations of present right and expediency.

The Constitutions of some of the States say that the Legislatures of these States may make provision for universities, and that so far as practicable, the latter shall give free tuition to the students who attend them. But it should be remembered that many of these Constitutions have undergone great modification from time to time, according to the will of the people, in order to adapt them to changed or changing conditions. Very many illustrations might be given. The Constitution of North Carolina, for instance, for many years prohibited any man from holding certain offices unless he were a Protestant. This restriction has long since disappeared.

No constitutional change, however, is needed at present. The article in our own State Constitution which has reference to provision for higher education is not mandatory but permissive. The Legislature may or may not make appropriations for higher education. In this matter, as in others, where the Constitution is not mandatory, legislators must carry out the wishes of the people whom they represent.

If, in any State, after a trial for many years of the support, at least to some extent, of the higher education by taxation, it should be deemed wise to rely upon the voluntary system, which has succeeded so well in other States, the way is open for the trial to be made.

Nor will it avail as a valid argument against the position which has been taken to say that some of the Fathers of the Republic gave countenance to State and Federal aid to universities. The fact is granted, but the argument is not. They also believed in lotteries. We do not.

A sufficient answer has come down to us from Thomas Jefferson himself. Writing to his friend Cabell in 1818, he said, referring to "the form of public instruction," "Our descendants will be as wise as we are, and will know how to amend, and amend until it shall suit their circumstances." It is hardly likely that anyone among us is as wise as Jefferson, but we know our present circumstances as he could not possibly know them.

It must be confessed that, after a long, long trial of the old Southern system, the masses of the people still remain in a most illiterate condition. One may seem presumptuous, but he is at least honest, in questioning whether it is right to continue longer a costly method which has left the masses of the people in comparative ignorance.

The writer is especially desirous, however, of being understood to say that he would deplore the abolition or destruction of any existing institution of learning. But he cannot help believing that it would be better for the State and for these institutions themselves, if they should be freed from all political relations and controlled by self-perpetuating trustees under liberal charters, with the expectation that they would be largely endowed and amply equipped by their alumni and other friends of education.

There can be little doubt that they would be well provided for. In his message to the General Assembly, in January, 1893, the Governor stated that one of these institutions already "embraces more than half a million of dollars in property, of which not twenty-five thousand dollars came from the State treasury." The writer remembers to have read in one of the papers of the State, in February, 1893, a suggestion that, if, in the past, this institution had received this large sum from the bounty of philanthropists, it would be reasonable to expect that it would in the future receive far larger sums from its friends, many of whom were abundantly able to aid in supplying all its needs.

If the education of a young man of talent, energy and character at any special institution "will enable him to rise to the top in any trade, profession or business," is it not reasonable to hope that when he has reached the top, he will make the college to which he owes his elevation a beneficiary of his success?

Of course the bare suggestion of the disestablishment of State institutions of higher learning will appear startling to many. It would have appeared so to the

writer before he had been led to think over and study the whole question very carefully. But this idea is by no means so startling as was the proposition to sever the connection between Church and State, when it was made in this country more than a hundred years ago. There were not wanting those who honestly believed and did not hesitate to say that if such "narrow" views should prevail, all religion would perish out of the land.

Everybody knows what the results have been. When the responsibility of supporting religious institutions was thrown upon the people, they showed themselves more ready to sustain them out of a "willing mind" than they had ever been when they were taxed for the purpose. And the writer believes that the same results would follow, if all higher education should be "disestablished."

Eugene Lawrence, in "*The First Century of the Republic*" (page 479, Harpers, 1876), says: "With the total abandonment of all civil provision for the salaries of the clergy, began the real or positive development of the religious life of the people; and the whole subsequent history has shown that, however much of a prophet Cotton Mather may have been in some respects, he was a very poor one in his vaticination of the straits to which preachers would be reduced who might have to depend on voluntary support."

No one can fairly raise the cry that the object of those who may favor any such views as are advocated here is to destroy any college or university. One may seek for reformation and yet be no iconoclast. And it is to be hoped that a resistance to the will of the people, if they really prefer the voluntary system in higher education, will not drive them to any extreme position.

## XII.

If the people of a State are willing to furnish higher education for any of its citizens, there is no good reason why they should not furnish it for all. And it has been conceded that there is little need for and little hope for the future of corporate and private academies and colleges if the people agree that it is (1) right and (2) expedient to furnish, by taxation, higher education (3) under Christian auspices.

The question of right has been briefly, by no means exhaustively, argued. It is now proposed to begin the discussion of the second question:

2. IS IT EXPEDIENT FOR A STATE IN THE PRESENT CONDITION OF NORTH CAROLINA TO UNDERTAKE TO SUPPLY ALL THE DEMAND FOR HIGHER EDUCATION WITHIN HER BORDERS?

One may clearly have the right to do what it would not be expedient for him to do. A man may have the unquestioned right to stop farming and dig for gold, but it may not be for his best interests to do so. It may not be expedient for a farmer to sell out his plantation in North Carolina and move to Texas. Yet no one will deny his right to do so. If, however, others are going to be affected by his decisions, it is clearly not right for him to take an inexpedient step unless he has given the question ample consideration, and is honest in believing that he is taking the wisest course. And so, in very many cases, questions of right and expediency will be found to shade off into each other. Perhaps this may be found to be the case with the question now under discussion.

If, therefore, the argument against the right of a State to maintain higher education by taxation should have seemed to any reader to be inconclusive, he is invited to consider whether it be wise for North Carolina, under existing circumstances, to undertake to do so.

And it may be remarked that if the writer can succeed in making good any one of his three independent points, he will have established his main position. If, not all, but any one of his three contentions shall prove to be valid, the State should not undertake to furnish the higher education.

It is believed and will be urged that in the present condition of our State every cent of money raised by taxation that is available for educational purposes ought to be expended in increasing the efficiency of the Common School System; and that all higher education ought to be cared for by private enterprise, and supported, so far as necessary, by private munificence.

## XIII.

For some years three distinct methods of educational policy have been on trial in as many different parts of the United States. Sufficient length of time has elapsed since their adoption to prove their relative value. And each has prevailed over so wide an extent of territory as largely to eliminate merely local influences. The results of these experiments on so large a scale are due, mainly, not to accident, but to the working of the systems themselves. They afford excellent object-lessons, and as such they are worthy of comparative study on the part of all who are interested in educational questions. It is easy to theorize about educational methods, but it would be hard to draw misleading inferences from the results of experiments on so extended a scale.

The following contrast between two of these methods is from an address before the National Educational Association by Dr. J. D. Dreher, President of Roanoke College, Virginia:

"In the North that great fundamental idea of the Fathers of the Constitution, that a republican government can rest safely only on the intelligence and virtue of the people, took practical shape in the establishment of a system of public free schools, supported by taxation.

"Higher education, though aided at times by various States, was never so controlled, until the establishment of agricultural colleges by national aid, as to make any single college in the New England or Middle States a State school. The University of Vermont, at Burlington, the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, and the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, although bearing the names of States, are nevertheless governed by close corporations or Boards of Trustees, wholly independent of State legislatures. \* \* \*

"The people of the Northern States, then, have acted upon the idea that the State should provide free elementary education so as to fit all, and especially the poor, for the duties of citizenship; and that the maintenance of higher education should be left to the benefactions of the friends of liberal culture and religion.

"Whatever may have been the views of the leaders of public opinion in the South before the civil war, the practical outcome of the Southern idea was just the opposite of that in the North. At the South almost no provision was made for the masses who could not otherwise obtain even an elementary education; while nearly every Southern State established a university, which in most cases could be attended only by those who had sufficient means to avail themselves of advantages already provided elsewhere. At the North the system seemed to embody the idea that education was regarded as a necessity and blessing to all; at the South, that it was a blessing and a necessity only to the few who were to be the social and political leaders of the people."

It was difficult for the writer to reconcile the wide generalization in the second paragraph quoted from Dr. Dreher with some of the statements in Blackmar's "Federal and State Aid," etc. All doubt is now removed by the reception of the following letter from President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University:

CAMBRIDGE, April 11, 1894.

"*My Dear Sir:* President Dreher is right. Until the Agricultural Colleges were established by National aid there was no State University or College in New England. Harvard has never been a State University or College. It was aided by the Colony, Province and State from 1636 down to 1814, chiefly by small gifts, which amounted in all to \$216,000, but endowments began to be received in 1698, and have always been the main support of the institution. Individuals have given to the University at least \$12,000,000. \* \* \*

"Wherever government supports universities, there endowments fail, or are procured with difficulty, and the public spirit which prompts gifts for education languishes. This effect has been produced in all our Western States which support State universities. CHARLES W. ELIOT."

In the Western and Northwestern and in some of the Southern States, other conditions have prevailed. By provisions made before these States were organized, there was set aside from the public domain, to be used forever for educational purposes, an amount of land which is said to be, in the aggregate, more than half as large as France. In each township, one section (a square mile) was given by the Federal government for the support of public schools, and in each State, one town-

ship, sometimes two or three (each containing thirty-six square miles), was set apart for the support of a university. And, while the legislatures of some of these States have from time to time made liberal appropriations for higher education, it should never be forgotten that the people of these States have been greatly relieved in the support of their schools by this generous provision of the Federal government. And, moreover, the proceeds of the Morrill Land Grant of 1864, which in several cases was given to the State Universities, were larger on an average in the Western than in the Old States. They were in some cases able to take up land within their own borders instead of accepting "scrip" to be sold on the market.

Since the above was written, the following paragraph has appeared in a newspaper. The writer does not know that the figures are correct, but sees no reason to doubt their accuracy :

"The elaborate provision for public schools is a striking characteristic of State and Territorial legislation in the far West. North Dakota estimates the ultimate amount of her school fund at somewhere between \$30,000,000 and \$40,000,000. Oregon's school fund is now \$2,500,000. Idaho's school lands are worth nearly \$7,000,000. Kansas holds nearly \$7,000,000 in bonds for the benefit of her public schools. Missouri holds between \$4,000,000 and \$5,000,000 for her schools. Oklahoma will one day have a large school fund, and half a dozen other Western States and Territories have many millions invested for the benefit of such funds."

The writer may remark, in passing, that he has long believed that a great injustice has been done to the older States in the lavish distribution of the public domain. Some of the commonwealths which with patriotic generosity surrendered their claims to their territory in the West, have received nothing for the support of their Common School Systems, while the new States have received millions of acres. Is it too late, even now, to ask Congress for justice to the older States, especially to those which have to undertake the Common School education of the Freedmen?

But as a matter of fact, the same provision has not been made in North Carolina by the Federal government for either higher or lower education that has been made in the West.

It is simply impossible for us to follow the Western States as examples. Yet the writer has heard addresses in which one or another of the Western or Northwestern States has been presented as the standard to which our State should conform.

#### XIV.

A further consideration of each of these three systems is desirable.

The plan pursued in the New England and Middle States seems to have borne good fruit in both lower and higher education.

*First*, the admirable Common School Systems of these States are supported by the States and are largely supplemented by local taxation. The last report of the Bureau of Education (1889-'90) says: "The tendency in the North is to regard State aid as an auxiliary agency, having a well defined function, but to keep it within restricted bounds. In education, as in other departments of human activity, it is self-help that stimulates the healthiest and most vigorous growth and leads to the most enduring results. A realizing sense of this truth has led to the practice in the North of being somewhat chary in the matter of giving State aid. Enough is furnished to tone down the harsher inequalities of local taxation, and to afford a stimulus and an encouragement to the people in the poorer localities to do for themselves," page 24. Under this system, we find that, of over forty-five million dollars expended by these States upon their public schools, over thirty-seven millions were raised by local taxation.

The public schools in these States are kept open over 166 days. (In North Carolina, by same report, 59.2 days.) The teachers receive sufficient compensation to warrant them in preparing for their work, and devoting their lives to it.

To this almost universal education of the masses of the people are largely due their wonderful thrift, enterprise, inventiveness and wealth. Despite unfavorable conditions of climate and (in many places) of soil, they can show the best results in agriculture. To their widespread general intelligence, we may look for at least some of the causes of their amazing activity and success in manufacture. Of their influence in the affairs of the whole country, Governor Joseph E. Brown of Georgia has said in an address at Atlanta:

"There has been a great change. We have to bury the dead issues, and go forward with the living future. The statesmen of the South have no right to disregard the great question of popular education.

"Disguise it as you may, the New England States, by their broad and liberal educational systems, the splendid endowments they have given to their universities, and their admirable Common School Systems, have educated their people up to a point which has given them great advantage in the contest for power and place in this government. Travel, if you please, over the broad plains of the mighty West, and you will find in most instances that the lawyer, the doctor of divinity, the physician, the schoolmaster, the literary man, the newspaper man, and the most prominent citizens in their cities and towns were educated in New England. They have imbibed New England ideas. By her educational influences New England has dictated laws to the continent. If we would elevate the people of the South to the true position of power and influence to which they are entitled, we must educate the masses of our people, and develop the bright intellect in the humbler circles of life that is now left uncultivated."

And he might have added that it would be well to do it in accordance with the same methods, so far as they are applicable, which have been so fruitful in New England.

It is really impossible for one who has not traveled in the North, in the rural districts and smaller towns, as well as in the great cities, to form an adequate idea of the high level of general intelligence to which the masses of the people have been lifted through popular education, mainly in the public schools.

The policy pursued by these States of caring for primary, and, in some cases, secondary education, by taxation, local and general, and of relying mainly upon voluntary beneficence for the support of higher institutions, has produced excellent results in the general education of all classes of people. That this is true will hardly be questioned.

*Second.* What are some of the results in higher education?

The endowments of the colleges and universities of these States amount to nearly forty million dollars, and those of the South Atlantic States to about six and a half million. The college and university endowments of the single State of Massachusetts exceed those of all the South Atlantic States together by over four million dollars. Of course it is not forgotten that many Southern endowments were swept away by the civil war, and that there is far more wealth everywhere in the North than in the South. All that is aimed at in the presentation of these figures is to establish the fact that the Voluntary System in higher education is friendly to the support of universities and colleges without any necessity for taxation. If, however, one cared to make an analysis of the figures which show that the equipment in buildings, grounds, libraries, and apparatus (which were not generally destroyed by the war) are only one-third in value in the South Atlantic States of what they are in the New England and Middle States, this argument could be made even stronger. The fact seems to be that when the field has been left open by a State, and when responsibility has been laid upon those who are interested in higher education, abundant means have not been lacking for either endowment or equipment of higher institutions.

Now is not the thought at once suggested that a method which has produced such admirable results, not in one single State, but in all in which it has been tried, is worthy of consideration, if not of adoption in other States?

## XV.

The policy hitherto pursued in most of the Southern States does not seem to have borne such good fruit either in the higher or the lower education. The assumption by the States of the responsibility of providing the former does not seem, to say the least, to have stimulated the people to give largely of their means for the endowment and equipment of private and corporate institutions for liberal culture. Yet during the half century before the war many of the people of these States were prosperous. And can it be doubted that but for the fact that the States had entered this field and had assumed control, if not support, of higher education, abundant provision would have been made by wealthy individuals, and by every one of the religious denominations for the support of all needed colleges and universities?

What private munificence is willing and able to do in the South was illustrated and proved in several of these States after the close of the war. Most of the State

universities were closed for a longer or shorter period,—a danger, by the way, to which colleges under political control are always subject, and from which Christian and private colleges are comparatively free. Many can still remember the vigor and elasticity displayed by these corporate institutions, and the large and rapid increase of the means at their disposal. When, for a period, overshadowing influences were removed and responsibility for the care of higher education was put upon them, they seemed to feel the infusion of a new vitality, and were beginning to prove their ability to do, and to do well, all the work in college instruction needed by these States. Our State University was practically closed for ten years after the war. (Moore's History of North Carolina, page 417.) Some of the Christian colleges of the State made more real growth, all things considered, during the years which afforded opportunity for their expansion than they had done during the same number of years before the war. Yet this growth was made in the feverish days of reconstruction, while the country was in an unsettled condition, and the people were impoverished.

If the wave of tendency toward State maintenance and control of higher education shall culminate, the gifts of individuals to private institutions will probably be, in the future, few and small. Why should it be otherwise? What motive would there be for strengthening existing colleges or building up new ones, when alike they would be hopelessly handicapped in the struggle for existence?

If some wealthy and public-spirited man were, even now, contemplating a liberal gift to one of the Christian colleges of North Carolina, what encouragement would he receive from the State? And with what degree of hopefulness and enthusiasm can those who control these colleges plan and labor for the enlarged usefulness of the institutions committed as trusts to them?

For several years the foundation of a new institution of higher learning in North Carolina has been much discussed by one of the large bodies of Christian people, and some steps toward its organization have been taken. The writer happens to know, however, that some who at first favored the enterprise are now lukewarm, and that one of the reasons assigned for decrease of interest is that, in view of a seeming manifest destiny toward State control in higher education, it would be unwise to multiply points of friction and competition, and that the expenditure would be entirely unnecessary.

## XVI.

Incidental reference has been made to the suspension of the work of State universities after the close of the war. It will be no serious interruption of the general line of argument to lay some emphasis upon the fact that there is an element of inherent instability in the life and working of all institutions under political control. No man can forecast the future, or tell what social and political convulsions lie behind its unlifted curtain. Is it expedient to pursue a policy which will weaken or destroy institutions which are comparatively free from dangers arising from political and social changes in the effort to build-up others which, in the very nature of the case, are liable to be suspended or destroyed by such changes?

In his monumental work on Political Science, President Woolsey, of Yale University, sets this difficulty in clear light. (Vol. II, page 409.)

"The practical difficulties \* \* \* arise from the causes which tend to disturb the stability of State institutions of higher learning. \* \* \* The directors of higher institutions of learning, to a degree, change with the change of politics. Some professor has given offence by his freedom in expressing his opinions on public measures, and is made an object of attack. Some politicians think that learned education ought to pay for itself, without receiving aid from the public. There is no certainty that the university will survive half a century. \* \* \* From all this it would appear that universities supported by the State cannot \* \* \* be sure of a healthy, undisturbed existence. On the other hand, universities and colleges under the management of persons acting under a private charter \* \* \* are free from the instabilities to which State institutions are generally subject."

Extended discussion might at this point be made of some grave and peculiar dangers which, sooner or later, may manifest themselves in those States which have a large colored population. The writer does not care to discuss these dangers here. It is sufficient only to suggest them, and to remark that they do not and cannot threaten the Christian and other private institutions. These dangers may not be imminent now. But many unsettled questions are to be the heritage of our children.



In Chapin's edition of Wayland's Political Economy (Sheldon's, 1886, p. 129), the following views are expressed: "There can be no question that it is the duty of the State to provide for the gratuitous elementary education of all classes. Whether the State should set up and maintain by general taxation higher institutions, \* \* is a question which demands the thoughtful consideration of the economist, the statesman and the Christian. \* \* Under the control of the State, such institutions must be more or less involved in the conflicts of political parties, in a way unfavorable to the most successful prosecution of their work. Under such control, also, it is difficult—not to say impossible—to adjust the treatment of moral and religious subjects, which ought not to be excluded from a course of liberal education, so as to satisfy all. Moreover, it is healthful for a people that wide scope be given for the action of private beneficence in endowing institutions of learning. \* \* Such institutions certainly deserve the fostering care of the State, whatever it may do with respect to other institutions under its direct control."

It is very difficult to see how these institutions which are thus commended to the "fostering care of the State" can expect to maintain themselves side by side with other institutions which are subsidized by State appropriations. If, therefore, the permanence and prosperity of a number of colleges, maintained by private munificence is more desirable than the growth and influence of colossal, overshadowing institutions, maintained by taxation, then the subsidy of the latter by the State is not expedient.

## XVII.

The Voluntary Principle in higher education, as illustrated by the practice of the New England and Middle States, has been contrasted with the plan of State support of higher education, as illustrated in the Southern States. It was claimed that the voluntary system has proven itself more friendly to the development of a large number of strong and self-supporting colleges than the other plan had done. Reference was also made to the extraordinary efficiency of the common schools in those States where the voluntary system has been adopted. Enquiry will now be made as to the results of the Southern system in the education of the masses of the people.

The picture is on one side bright and hopeful, on the other, dark and discouraging. There are more school-houses and more teachers in North Carolina than ever before. There is a large increase in the enrollment of the school population. There were five times as many children attending the public schools in 1890 as in 1870. Very much good work is done in private schools. The graded schools of fifteen towns and cities, supported mainly by local taxation and by the Peabody fund, are probably unsurpassed in any State.

On the other hand, the public school term is shorter in North Carolina than in any other State or Territory of the Union.

The average amount of the salaries of teachers in the public schools in North Carolina is \$23.10.

The expenditure per pupil is less in North Carolina than in any other State, except South Carolina.

In 1890 the total expenditure per capita of population for common schools in the New England and Middle States was \$2.76. In North Carolina it was forty-four cents. State aid to public schools is about the same in both. But (report of Bureau of Education, '89-'90), "the States of the Northern divisions raise on an average over two dollars per capita of population in local taxes, and those of the two Southern divisions, on an average, about thirty-six cents."

There can be no question that better provision ought to be made for our public schools, if not by local taxation, then by larger State appropriation. Would it not be better to use revenues available for educational purposes to increase the fund for our common schools rather than to expend these revenues in such a way as incidentally to weaken private institutions which would care for higher learning without cost to the State?

Until after the close of the war, little provision of practical value had been made for the masses of the people by most of the Southern States. The majority of those who controlled public policy seemed to have felt that they had done their whole duty in making provision for State universities.

Jefferson was as anxious for a public school system in Virginia as he was for the success of the University. On January 13, 1823, he wrote to his co-worker Cabell, "Were it necessary to give up either the primaries or the university, I would rather

abandon the last, because it is safer to have a whole people respectably enlightened than a few in a high state of science, and the many in ignorance. This last is the most dangerous state in which a nation can be." Yet there was no real common school system in Virginia till 1870.

In North Carolina the University was opened in 1795, but it was not until 1840—forty-five years later, and after several of the Christian colleges had been founded—that a system of public schools was inaugurated. The occasion for their establishment seems to have been the transfer of nearly a million and a-half of dollars of surplus deposit fund to the State by the Federal Government. Before the breaking out of the war, North Carolina was ahead of all the slave-holding States in her system of public instruction and compared favorably in several respects with some of the other States.

The present Constitution of the State requires (Article IX, sec. 3) that "Each county of the State shall be divided into a convenient number of districts, in which one or more public schools shall be maintained at least four months in every year," \* \* \* and also, after specifying other sources of revenue (sec. 4), that "so much of the ordinary revenue of the State as may be by law set apart for that purpose shall be faithfully appropriated for establishing and maintaining in this State a system of free public schools."

This constitutional requirement as to the length of the public school term is not obeyed. Is it expedient that a legislature should make appropriations for higher education which could be provided otherwise, while thousands of children are growing up in comparative ignorance, and while the requirements of the Constitution are not obeyed?

But it will be said, higher education is also in the Constitution. That is true, but the language of the Constitution with reference to public schools is *mandatory*, "shall be maintained at least four months," while Article IX, sec. 6, is *permissive*, stating that "the General Assembly \* \* may make such provision \* \* as may be necessary and expedient for the maintenance and management of said University."

In the last report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina (page 10), "special attention is called to the fact that thirteen weeks of annual school term is not enough, and is not even up to the required minimum of sixteen weeks." And, again (page 45), "the general system is working well, so far as the money goes; what is specially needed is larger appropriation by the General Assembly, and a liberal provision to allow communities to vote additional taxes."

It will be easy for any one to make the calculation which will show how far the money spent annually by the State on higher education would go in increasing the number of schools with the present length of term or in increasing the length of term of the present number of schools.

## XVIII.

We must not allow ourselves to be blinded to the real educational condition of multitudes of our people by what we see along the railroads, and in the towns and cities where Graded Schools are doing their admirable work. Those who travel to any great extent in the State, and are brought into contact with the people in the rural districts know far better what the real illiteracy is than can be discovered from any tables of statistics. There are multitudes, white as well as black, who can neither read nor write. And many of these people have little desire that their children shall learn. They are content with low ideals, and know little of the higher conceptions and ambitions of life. Yet the State can never be wealthy and prosperous in any high degree until the masses of the people are better educated than they have ever been before.

The area of North Carolina is nearly as great as that of England, or as that of Scotland and Greece combined. It contains three-fifths of the population of Elizabethan England, and half the population of Holland at the time of the great Revolt. What a State it might be if the people were only educated! There must be general intelligence before there can be general thrift. And this intelligence can only be procured by widespread popular education. And this can only be given by the State.

Bishop McTyeire has written on this subject: "It is too serious a farce, though one can hardly help smiling at the preposterous absurdity of offering free university tuition where free common schools can hardly run four months in the year. Of the over six millions of illiterates who disgrace and threaten our country, a very large

portion are in those Southern States that are inviting their citizens to free university education. It sounds well to say, 'Our State University is open to the poor as well as the rich. The farmer and mechanic can educate his son there on the same terms with the millionaire.' Look at this a moment. The farmer wants his son to chop out cotton and help gather in the crop. The mechanic wants his son in the shop. Offer to them a common school, within reach, for nine or ten months in the year, and you offer them what they want, and what they can accept. Moreover, could these boys be spared for two or three years from the plow and anvil and work-bench, their parents cannot afford the expense of board and travel and books and suitable outfit for the University. It is mocking them to say it is open and free."

Dr. Warren Candler, President of Emory College, Georgia, delivered an address, three or four years ago, before the Legislature of Georgia, in which he had the courage to say: "The church in the United States (meaning by that all the churches) has a right to be heard upon this subject, and her opinions are much to be valued, for she may be regarded as an expert in higher education, however unable she may be to take care of the primary schools. There are 365 colleges and universities in the United States. Of these, 278 belong to the churches. Of the 65,000 college students in the United States, 50,000 are in church schools. These colleges do not ask of the State appropriation or any other help, but they do ask of the State that she will give them the protection of good government, and enact no legislation unfriendly to them. They think they have a right to ask this much. They know they serve the country well. \* \* Can the State or anybody in the State, who really loves the State, whatever be his theory of education, refuse to foster these religious institutions that do the work of higher education as well as any, and cost the State nothing for the doing of it? \* \* \*

"As we have it to-day, what is the best method of fostering higher education in Georgia? My opinion is, the best way to do this is to appropriate every dollar that you have to appropriate to education, to the education of the common people—to our common schools. (Applause.) \* \* Our University has reached a point where it owns property to the amount of \$663,000, and has an annual income of \$30,000. Has all this produced common schools? I think we are all familiar enough with the facts to know that this method has not built up the common schools. Virginia tried the same policy with the same result. The University of Virginia has had under its tuition 9,000 students, and it has made, in the course of its history, only about 500 teachers. It has produced in that time about 2,000 lawyers. This process does not make teachers, but it does create a ruling class. \* \* We may prize the upper part of our population higher, and press the lower part lower, until there is a yawning chasm between them which will not be good for any of us. But if we work upon the common school, we will lift all together. If you will give a boy the keys that will unlock the vestibule to education, depend upon it, if he is fit to be initiated into the inner shrine, he will find the passwords, grips and signals, and secure admission into the higher degrees. \* \* \*

"There are half a million children in Georgia between six and eighteen years old who need to have a chance to enter this struggle. If we send down to them through the common schools all the money that we can spare, we shall stimulate these young lives to thoughtfulness, to thirst and hunger after learning. But if, on the other hand, we give sparingly to them, and follow the old ante-bellum policy, that before the war was adopted all along the South Atlantic slope, we shall continue to have multitudes unlearned, and a few taught at the expense of the many. I think we are less alarmed in the United States when we ruin a crop of children than when we lose a crop of cotton or barley. What must become of the crop of 460,000 children down yonder in the country unless something is done? If it were 460,000 colts I think our friends of the Farmers' Alliance would have something to say about it. If it were 460,000 sheep that were being slain by the dogs, the dog-law would stand a better chance of passing. But it is 460,000 children, and we say, 'If they can get to school, it is all right, and if not, it is all right.' We must not waste children that way. There is where the money of the State should go to-day. \* \* Our rich people have means abundant to take care of the higher education, at least for awhile, until the State has given us common schools for eight months in the year, which is much more urgent. This work will tax every resource of the State. When the thought comes to me of what the State can do if she will build up her common schools, my emotions are unspeakable."

## XIX.

Whatever else it has accomplished, the Southern idea in education has never succeeded in educating the masses of the people. One sometimes wonders whether those who controlled public opinion in the days before the war were ever deeply in earnest in seeking to give all the children a chance to learn, at least, to read and write. That there were some who were there can be no question. All honor to the names of Judge Murphey, Bartlett Yancey, W. W. Cherry and C. H. Wiley.

President Caldwell published in 1832 a series of letters which still do honor to his mind and heart. His appeals rang out clear and strong, like the blast of a trumpet. The following passage, written sixty-two years ago, is good reading now:

"We have a country inferior to none of the original States in soil; in climate, it is far superior to most, in the mildness of its winters, in the diversity of its productions and in the renovation of its crops. In the midst of all these sources of wealth and opportunity our children are left to grow up unpruned and uncultivated as the forest or the brake which the hand of industry has never touched. This continues to the present hour, while it implies an almost total exclusion of knowledge, like the opacity of incarcerating walls, in the last and most enlightened age of the world. \* \* \*

"Let us place up to the eye for our consideration the thousands, may I not say the hundreds of thousands, of our people, old and young that cannot read. With this prospect under our view a little time only, could we convey in competent expressions the reflections which it would excite in our bosoms? A wilderness of minds springing into life, and advancing through its tract of years untaught, untutored, groping their way in darkness, except where a few rays break in upon them from the floating information of the time. \* \* \* How many more of our generations must still grow up to pass through life surrounded with the gloom of three hundred years ago? Shall we not say with united voice, this evil is too grievous, too inglorious, and, in its effects, too mischievous to be borne? It must have a remedy, and it must have it soon. Let us bring all the resources of our minds to bear anew upon the subject, and use the best means in our power to disseminate education through every county of the State, and among every portion of our people."

Yet years were still to elapse before public schools were established. Caldwell suggests one reason for delay. "Party spirit, which is the bane of all wise and sound policy, is perpetuated from year to year; assumes a standing character, and is propagated among the people, poisoning the fountains of legislation. The halls of the Assembly become an arena to fight over again the same battles, in which it often happens that the best interests of the country are connected with the degradation of defeat. Success is made the test of merit. The triumphs of victorious opposition, even to an object so sacred and all important as the education of the people, are capable of covering the object itself with ignominy, through an indiscreet and persevering connection of it with loans and taxes to which our established feelings are in revolting and irreconcilable aversion."

And the men of Caldwell's day were not entirely responsible. They had inherited their opinions from the Colonial era. So far as the South was dominated by the old Cavalier influence, there was little sympathy with public schools. "In the early colonial days, when the English Commissioners asked for information on the subject of education from the Governor of Virginia and Connecticut, the former replied: 'I thank God there are no free schools or printing presses, and I hope we shall not have any these hundred years'; and the latter, 'One-fourth of the annual revenue of the colony is laid out in maintaining free schools for the education of our children.'" (Quoted by Bryce, *Amer. Commonwealth*, Vol. 1, p. 588.)

There are people in North Carolina to-day who are ignorant, as their fathers were before them, because of the petty political struggles, and the little personal ambitions of those long by-gone years. The highest interests of the masses of the people, as we can see now, were lost sight of or ignored. One can hardly help imagining how differently the whole history of the country might have been written if, all over the South for the last hundred years, as much attention had been given to educating the people up from the bottom as has been given to educating from the top downwards.

We invite immigration to our State. We need not expect to succeed until we are more able to compete with other States in the opportunities offered for the instruction of the children of the immigrant. A skilled mechanic from the North, who left North Carolina after several months residence, told the writer that his only reason for returning was that he was disappointed in the common school education offered

to his children here. Had he remained he would doubtless have been a valuable citizen. And not only will the immigrant decline to accept our invitation, though we establish bureaus, and make exhibition of our resources, but we shall not be able to put a stop to that leakage by emigration which will continue to add to the wealth and productive power of other States which it subtracts from our own. Many of the most enterprising and useful citizens of other States were born in North Carolina, or their parents were. There can be little question that many of these would now be citizens of North Carolina if better facilities had been offered for primary education.

In *Industrial Education in the South*, published by the Bureau of Education, Washington, in 1888 (page 16), Dr. A. D. Mayo says: "The bottom question in Southern life is neither political, in the partisan or economic sense, nor social, even including the race question, half as much as it is the educational question, in the broadest sense of the term. First, the training of the masses of both races in that elementary common-school schooling in knowledge, discipline, and the general awakening of mind which has been the largest factor in the development of the North, and the foundation of the present power of Germany, is now the hope of liberalism in Great Britain, the promise of the future in France and Italy and Austria, and the mighty agency which within a short generation, has wheeled Japan into the line of civilized nations. With all forbearance and personal respect for people of every sort who now stand in the way of the effective common-schooling of the Southern masses, it must be said that the best friend of that section is the portion of the educational American public that is pushing forward the movement to plant a good district school for six months in the year everywhere in the open country, and a good graded school for eight or nine months, with opportunity for training teachers, in every village of these sixteen States."

## XX.

But may not the control and support of higher education by our State be rendered expedient by a necessity for the supply of teachers for public and other schools?

This argument, more than any other, seems to be relied upon to justify the expediency of State control and support of the higher education. It ought, therefore, to be carefully considered.

If there were no other way to secure a supply of teachers, and if this method *would* secure the supply, there would be force in this objection to the position assumed in this paper.

There is good ground, however, for believing that this is neither the only way nor the best way.

The law of supply and demand is as applicable to schools and teachers as to any other departments of human industry.

The demand for teachers will surely create a supply of teachers; and it will do this without any care or expense on the part of the State.

What is needed in North Carolina is better pay for the teachers and longer school terms. When this great and crying need is supplied, the whole matter of supply of teachers will take care of itself.

State control and support of higher education is not the only way to supply teachers. The great majority of teachers in our public or other schools have not come, hitherto, from our State institutions. So far as they have had higher education at all, the majority have come from the Christian and other private colleges.

So far as the higher and better paying places are concerned, there will probably always be more applicants than there will be vacancies. The books of the numerous "School Agencies" are filled with the names of well-prepared men and women who are anxious to secure positions in graded school and academy work.

These numerous candidates for employment are so much in excess of existing demand for their services, and they are so eager to get places, that they are ready to pay to the "Agency" not only a registration fee, but also a considerable percentage of their first year's salary.

As to teachers for the public schools, is it not true that, the more of the higher education a man or woman receives, the less likely it is that he or she will ever teach in a public school?

If the State will pour all the money it can spare into its common schools, and thus pay teachers something like living salaries, it need give itself no concern about an ample supply of teachers.

And, on the other hand, the teachers educated by the State will, for the most part, decline to teach, unless the schools afford more pay, or else have longer terms. They can make more money at other occupations.

The range of average salaries of public school teachers in North Carolina is from \$26.20 per month for white males to \$20.14 for colored females. The average is \$23.10. The length of the public school term is about thirteen weeks.

Is this compensation likely to be attractive to those upon whom the State spends its revenues for higher education?

At a meeting of the Southern Educational Association in Louisville, Ky., President Candler expressed the following views on this subject: "Some have made the mistake of supposing that we can improve the grade of our common school teachers by the endowment of normal schools and the like, without increasing the appropriations to our common schools. This is a delusion which we should dismiss without delay. If we could restrain the advancing years as Joshua made the sun to stand still, so that the present generation of children should grow no older while waiting for their teachers to be trained, and if, all the while, the normal colleges and all the other colleges were turning out graduates by the thousand, we could not draw these qualified men and women into the common schools, when the machinery was again set in operation, unless we paid them living salaries. On the other hand, if our colleges were to turn out no more graduates for the next ten years, and we would raise the salaries in the common schools to the level of a decent support, we would secure for most of the schools competent instructors. There is not a school in the South which offers a respectable salary which does not, in the case of a vacancy, have more applicants than it knows what to do with. But capable men and women will turn to other employment rather than enter schools which do not give the teacher a living. The more capable we make our college graduates the more surely they will go into other lines of labor, as long as the pay of teachers in the common schools is less than the salaries of dry goods clerks and base-ball players."

President Caldwell, of Chapel Hill, in the letters which have already furnished quotations, argued for the establishment of a "Central School" for the training of schoolmasters. In letter XI, he referred to "two or three well written pieces published some time since in one of the weekly prints" in which "the writer recommended to prepare teachers \* \* by availing ourselves of our university for their education."

In opposition to this view, he took the position that education at the University positively unfitted a young man from teaching a common school. He says: "To educate a young man in a college is to disqualify him almost with certainty for the permanent business of an elementary schoolmaster. \* \* To educate a youth in college is to spoil him for the occupation of a primary schoolmaster. \* \* He will soon be tired of being an abedarian, if he can teach Virgil and Homer, or hope for distinction in one of the learned professions. His tastes, his desires, his habits, the scope of his mind, his expenses and modes of living, have all been formed entirely at variance with the ends proposed."

The writer believes that the position taken by this eminent man is still true in its essential principles, and that it will apply to all colleges of high grade.

## XXI.

If this be true, it would seem that the State, if it is going to undertake to educate teachers for its common school system, would do better to establish high schools and academies. The same objection would not lie against these. Indeed, if the general plan for State control of education shall be carried out, the State will ultimately maintain a system of academies which will make all private academies unnecessary. And Dr. Dreher says, in the address to which reference has already been made: "There is far more reason why the States should provide high schools than that they should maintain universities, since a great many more children would be educated in the former than in the latter. The high schools would meet the wants of nearly all classes; the universities, even with free tuition, do not meet the wants of those who are not able to bear the expenses necessary to bring the free tuition within their reach."

The present writer need hardly say that he can see no sufficient ground for the maintenance of either by a State. He believes that the whole matter of supply of teachers, all along the line, from top to bottom, may safely be left to self-interest on the part of the individual and to the laws of supply and demand.

The same principle, it is believed, will apply with equal force as an answer to the argument that the State is under obligation to educate men for social and political leadership in the State.

Any young man who has within him real capacity for leadership and a worthy ambition for advancement, if he shall receive from the State a good public school education, will surely make his way up. Assuredly he must have a chance to get education,—the best education. But this can be afforded under the voluntary as well as under the State-support system.

And there are really some serious objections to, if not dangers in, the encouragement of the idea that it is desirable for the rulers and leaders of the future all to be educated together and to be imbued with the same traditions. The writer is prepared to discuss this objection from a practical point of view, but prefers not to do so unless it should be rendered necessary hereafter.

If the State accepts the responsibility of providing higher education in order to supply teachers for all lower institutions, will it not naturally come to pass more and more that it will secure a sort of monopoly in filling desirable positions to the practical exclusion of applicants from all other institutions?

The institutions which stand as "Logical Heads" of the State system will, as a matter of course, come to possess the nominating, and practically, in the course of time, the appointing prerogative. No others need apply.

When this shall have come to pass, the colleges, male and female, can hold out little hope to those whose patronage they solicit that they can expect positions as principals or assistants in the graded schools or State academies. And those in charge of these schools and academies will naturally, so far as they can, induce the young as they pass from their higher classes, if they enter any higher institutions, to repair to those maintained by the State.

And will not the ultimate result be that, as the system becomes more complete and compact, the children, as they grow up, will pass, with infrequent exceptions, into the State colleges and universities, and that these, in turn, will supply teachers for all the more desirable positions? Signs are not wanting that such a tendency has already begun to operate.

And is it not likely that, in a somewhat similar manner, political influence in a State will have a tendency to pass more and more, though quietly and unobtrusively, under control of the institutions of higher learning conducted by the State? Less and less, when the system is complete, will any one be likely to look hopefully for promotion to positions of honor and emolument, unless he shall have been a student at a State university. And all ambitious youths will naturally choose to enter the institutions whose halls are commended to them as the surest avenues to political promotion.

As to what the result of the full development of this tendency will be to the private colleges of the land no prophet is needed.

And yet it would be difficult to overestimate the value of the services which have been rendered by them to the whole cause of education. And this has been done, not only through the work in their class-rooms, but also in the stimulation of widespread interest among the people. By addresses and discussions before Synods, Conferences, Associations, Presbyteries, Conventions, Union and Quarterly Meetings, and Sunday-school Institutes, more people have been reached, wider public opinion created, and greater stimulus given to desire for education than in any other way.

This work has been largely done in the name and under the leadership of the several Christian colleges. They are prepared for better organized and more persistent work in reaching the masses of the people, and for promoting a revival in popular interest in education than ever before.

Is it expedient for the State to expend, in such a way as will injure these colleges, the money which would open more public schools or lengthen the terms of those now in operation? The people must answer.

## XXII.

Would it not be better to come back to the Voluntary System, which, as will be seen, is no new and untried experiment, even in North Carolina?

Before the Revolution there were eleven colleges in the American Colonies. Each of these was in a true sense a denominational college. They were also connected with government, because the churches were not yet disestablished.

During and after the struggle for Independence all the logical demands of com-



plete religious liberty were not recognized immediately. And the Voluntary System had received little recognition in the Old or New World. It was an experiment. It is not surprising, therefore, that the patriotic men of the early years of the Republic sought in some cases to assume State control and support of the higher education.

In North Carolina more emphasis seems to have been laid on State control than on State support of the University during the first seventy years of its history. Indeed, before the Civil War there was far more recognition, at least in practice, of the Voluntary System in higher education than there has been since the close of the War.

The charter of the University (Code of N. C., Sec. 2610) enacted in 1789, empowers the Trustees \* \* "to take \* \* all moneys, goods, and chattles that shall be given them for the use of the said university, and to apply the same according to the will of the donors."

Section 2612 says " \* \* every Treasurer (of the University) shall receive all monies, donations, gifts, bequests, and charities whatsoever, &c."

Of course these paragraphs include money, &c., given by the Legislature, but the enumeration of donations, gifts, bequests and charities is at least suggestive.

It becomes more than suggestive when we read (Blackmar's History of State and Federal Aid to Higher Education in the United States), how the Legislature interpreted this charter before the Civil War.

The Trustees of the University were "authorized to purchase a site and erect a building as soon as sufficient funds could be collected, and hold all subscriptions to the university as a permanent fund for the use and support of the said university forever." (Blackmar's History, p. 194.)

The State loaned the University \$10,000 in 1791 for the erection of buildings. This loan was afterwards made a gift. And this ten thousand dollars, originally a loan, is the whole amount given to the University by direct grant from the State Treasury by the Legislature from the date of the charter, in 1789, until 1866, a period of seventy-seven years. (*Ibid.*, p. 198.)

The State gave the University escheats of lands, including land warrants granted Revolutionary soldiers. The total amount from this source is estimated at \$200,000. Of this \$150,000 went into endowment, and was lost as a result of the war. The other \$50,000 was spent in paying professors and for other current expenses. (*Ibid.*, p. 198.)

After the University had been in operation for twenty years, Hon. A. D. Murphey reported as follows to the Legislature, after speaking of the usefulness of the institution to the State in high terms: "Unfortunately, the nature of the funds with which it was endowed in a short time rendered it odious to some and cooled the ardor of others. The torrent of prejudice could not be stemmed, the fostering protection of the Legislature was withheld, and the institution left dependent upon private munificence. Individuals contributed, not only to relieve its necessities, but to rear up its edifices and establish a permanent fund for its support. \* \* With the aid thus derived from individuals, together with occasional funds derived from escheats, the institution has been maintained thus far." (*Ibid.*, p. 196.)

Between 1790 and 1797 about \$60,000 were raised for the University on the voluntary method. This sum represents the gifts of such noble spirited men as Colonel Smith, Major Gerrard and General Person, and of citizens of Chapel Hill. Other amounts may have been given by other parties. (Smith's History, p. 59.)

In 1811 President Caldwell made an extended excursion through the State as soliciting agent for the University. By making application to individuals he obtained funds for the erection of buildings at Chapel Hill to the amount of \$12,000. (Foote's Sketches, p. 549.)

In those earlier years of the history of higher education in North Carolina the Voluntary System was, to a great extent, adopted by those who controlled the University. Yet it would seem that if, at any time, entire support by taxation of the University has been expedient, it would have been when no other institution existed in the State for supplying higher education.

Since the Civil War, however, when other institutions, working entirely on the Voluntary System, have been ready to supply all the higher education demanded of them, without cost to the State, the idea of State support (as well as State control) has come more prominently to the front.

This more recent tendency is probably a reflux wave of influence from the West and Northwest. Theoretically, it appears very attractive, and makes a strong appeal to the imagination. But it is simply impracticable in North Carolina.

The gradual increase of appropriations from the State Treasury for higher educa-



tion is one indication of the tendency referred to in the first article. Those who may discredit the existence of such a tendency are invited to compare the ten thousand dollars voted—as a loan, and then given—from the State Treasury between 1789 and 1866 (seventy-seven years) with the two hundred and forty-five thousand dollars granted from the State Treasury during the last fourteen years (including 1894). And if we count in the income from the land-scrip bonds (which, having been accepted by the State, were properly used till the A. & M. College was founded), the State has paid the University, since 1866, three hundred and forty thousand dollars.

The amount received by the institution from escheats, etc., since the war is not known to the writer.

If any reader will take the trouble to add up the grants made from the State Treasury for other institutions of higher learning in North Carolina, the tendency referred to will manifest itself to him still more clearly.

### XXIII.

There seems to be some ground for supposing that before the War the University was supported by students' fees to a greater extent than it has been since the War. But in the absence of reports, such as are published by other State institutions, one does not feel warranted in making an assertion at this point. The tendency, however, is in this direction.

This is another tendency for which we are indebted, perhaps, to the example of the Western States. The old Constitution of North Carolina did not say that "the General Assembly shall provide that the benefits of the University, as far as practicable, be extended to the youth of the State free of expense for tuition." These words are in the new Constitution which was adopted after the Civil War. Efforts have been made in the past, and possibly may be again in the not distant future, to induce the General Assembly to conclude that it is practicable to give free tuition at the University to all applicants.

Even if the State should undertake, after all, to support as well as control all higher education, is there any sufficient ground for it to decline to charge tuition or other fees in the old-fashioned way?

Does not all higher education, worthy of the name, enhance the earning power of the recipient? Does it not create within him the power to repay, after a time, it may be, a reasonable fee for his tuition and other expenses? Is there any more ground for the State to give a young man the use of a room free from rent, because he is a student, than there is for the State to give the same to any other young man because he may be a clerk, a mechanic, a farmer?

Even if the State maintains higher education with a view to supplying a possible demand for teachers, does any sufficient reason appear why they should not pay at least a part of what the State expends upon their education?

Those who teach do valuable work. But it is not performed by them gratuitously and as a work of charity. These laborers are worthy of their hire. And unless they receive it they are hardly likely to continue to teach at all.

No young man or woman in North Carolina ought to be, or is, debarred from securing a good college education by reason of his or her inability to pay tuition fees in cash.

As a matter of fact, generous indulgence is given to large numbers,—young women, as well as men,—by the colleges of the State. But the tendency within the last few years is more and more toward the idea that higher education is not a valuable consideration for which money ought to be paid. Even well-to-do people are beginning to enquire, "What 'inducements' do you offer in the way of free tuition," etc.? Doubtless all the institutions of learning need more or less toning up at this point. But it is a point at which they must all make a stand together, or no one of them can succeed.

Let a student give his note, if absolutely necessary. But the notes thus taken ought not to be regarded in a merely sentimental light, either by the creditors or the debtors, but as real business obligations.

A "scholarship" does not give free tuition. The only difference between the man who pays his own tuition fees and the man who has the use of a scholarship is that in the one case the student pays for his tuition himself, and in the other, somebody else pays for it. The institution gets (or, at least, ought to get) the full amount of the tuition fees charged to the student. Instead of collecting them, however, from

students, the institution collects them in the form of income accruing from invested funds. Provision for scholarships is a wise and beneficent use of money. It is earnestly to be hoped that in the coming years wealthy men and women will perpetuate their influence in the world by establishing many more of them in all the colleges of the State.

#### XXIV.

Those who may have been so patient as to pursue with the writer the line of thought suggested at the beginning of this paper, will remember the original proposition.

It was agreed that if it be (1) Right, (2) Expedient, and (3) Possible on Religious grounds, for the State to provide the higher education, there is simply no need at all for citizens in private or corporate capacity to go to any trouble or expense in providing such education.

But if, on the other hand, on any one of these three grounds, the State be estopped from making this provision, then higher education must be provided for, not by taxation, but on the Voluntary Principle.

The State policy now in vogue and the tendency which it reveals assume that it is right, expedient, and possible for the State to control and supply all demands for higher education.

The Voluntary System, which has been put upon the defensive by this policy, and whose very existence is threatened by this tendency, challenges the right, the expediency, and possibility of the supply of the higher learning by the State.

The questions of right and expediency have been discussed. It is now proposed to seek an answer to the last question:

*Third.* IS IT POSSIBLE FOR A STATE TO FURNISH THE KIND OF HIGHER EDUCATION WHICH IS MOST DESIRABLE FOR ITS YOUTH, WITHOUT COMMITTING ITSELF TO SOME SPECIAL FORM OF BELIEF—A THING WHICH A STATE IS NOT AT LIBERTY TO DO?

This question is neither little nor local. In one form or another it has for years agitated the public mind in many communities. In the effort to give wise solutions to the practical problems involved, great cities have been stirred from center to circumference, the secular and religious press of large sections of the country have been filled with discussions, and the highest State courts of appeal have recorded their judgments.

And wherever an issue has been squarely made there has been only one answer. And, so long as our Constitutions remain unchanged, there can be only one.

The question may be delicate and difficult to discuss; but it cannot be laughed down or otherwise ignored. The truth is, no question before the American public is likely to demand for its ultimate solution more of the tolerance of charity or of the wisdom of statesmanship.

The question will be answered by the establishment of two propositions. The conclusion follows necessarily—

1. The desirable education must contain religious elements.
2. The State is debarred by its fundamental law from furnishing these religious elements.
3. Hence, the State is debarred by its fundamental law from supplying the desirable education.

#### XXV.

1. To the truth of the first proposition, no one will be likely to raise serious objection. Everybody will agree that a desirable education must contain religious elements. There will be a wide diversity of opinion, however, as to what these religious elements should be.

To give to a youth in the formative period of life the best physical culture, the highest intellectual training, and the widest attainments in secular knowledge, and at the same time to ignore and neglect his spiritual nature is surely a fatal error. Such an education cannot develop the highest type of symmetrical manhood, but will produce an incomplete and distorted being, in whom most important organs and functions have become atrophied from disuse.

Professor Huxley will not be suspected of prejudice in favor of religion; and his testimony is worth all the more on this account. "My belief is," he says, "that no human being, and no society composed of human beings, ever did or ever will come to much, unless their conduct was governed and guided by the love of some ethical

ideal. If I were compelled to choose for one of my own children between a school in which real religious instruction is given, and one without it, I should prefer the former, even though the child might have to take a good deal of theology with it."

Dr. Whewell of the University of Cambridge (England) bases a strong argument for union of Church and State on the relation of religion to education. The State (he assumes) must educate. Religion is essential in education. The State, unless connected with a form of religion established by law, may not give religious education. Hence an established church is necessary in order that a State may provide higher education. It can easily be seen how his argument can be turned around so as to prove that without an established religion, the State may not give the higher education. (Elements of Mor. & Polity, Bk. V. Caps. 15 and 16, *passim*.)

He presents strongly and truly, however, the importance of religion in education.

"Man's duty, his destiny, \* \* the precepts of religion have so much more interest for the intellects of men in general than any other subjects, that any intellectual teaching which excludes these subjects, would, on that account, fetter and narrow the mind, far more than enlarge and elevate it. Moreover, the intellect could not be much exercised on mere material subjects, to the exclusion of moral and religious ones, without giving an undue estimate of the comparative value of the former, and a false view of their bearing and connexion." (Vol. 2, p. 341.)

Again, "Intellectual, moral and religious education are so closely connected, that they cannot be kept permanently separate. If we take the higher degrees of education, we find it impossible to carry them on without teaching either religion or irreligion. \* \* A person cultivated to the highest degree in a knowledge of physical science, without any moral or religious education, would be a powerful intellectual machine rather than an educated man. Thus education cannot go on, so as to answer its purpose, without including in it religion as a leading element." (Vol. 2, p. 345.)

Man is essentially a religious being: no wise system of education can ignore the fact. Mere moral instruction or the presentation of ethical truth is not enough. This will not satisfy the deeper needs of the nature. Religious truth, in some definite, clear-cut form, ought to be presented. Generic religion is an absurdity.

If a system were to be framed which embraced the doctrines of all sects, these would be found mutually antagonistic to such an extent that only a very small skeleton of Natural Religion would remain. If, on the other hand, a State should frame a system which rejected the peculiar doctrines of all sects, nothing would remain as an object of belief.

For it must be remembered that, if a State is to take any cognizance of sects at all in deciding what religious elements should enter into its education, the disciples of Comte, Haeckel, and Ingersoll, are just as much entitled to recognition by the State as are Jews, Catholics and Protestants.

This first proposition will receive incidental notice again further on.

## XXVI.

2. More time and trouble may be required to show that the State has no right to furnish education which contains religious elements, *i. e.*, Christian Education.

For the advocates of education under the auspices of the State of North Carolina have defined "religion" as "the Christian Religion."

It is true that very much of really valuable Christian education has been given in the past by State institutions. And it is also true that in several States these have been, for years together, under the dominant influence of one or another of the Christian denominations. And there can be no doubt that far better ends have been attained than if religion had been ignored. North Carolina is doubtless better off to-day because, as Dr. Mangum says, the State University was for many years virtually a Presbyterian institution. Georgia has probably been the gainer because her university was for a long time largely under Baptist influence. And so other States and other denominations might be mentioned. The results were good. The means were unjustifiable. Christian education is always and everywhere a good thing. But no State in the Federal Union has any right to give or authorize it.

Unless State colleges be made absolutely secular, it will be almost impossible, however great may be the efforts made to do so, to prevent them from drifting under the influence of one or another of the religious denominations. Yet, unless this almost impossible condition of stable equilibrium be permanently maintained, there will certainly be more or less of a sense of injustice felt by the less influential bodies of Christians.

While the considerations just mentioned are a real and serious objection to State control and support of higher education—an objection of the same general nature with that which is urged against the union of church and State—no special stress will be laid upon them in this argument.

But great stress will be laid upon the fact that there may not be in any State institution any discrimination for or against any form of religion whatever.

Protestants, Catholics, Israelites, Agnostics and Infidels are all to be on equal footing. If they are all taxed alike for the support of an institution, there may be nothing taught in it which would oppose the religious views of any. A State may set up no religious standards, and is not at liberty, even indirectly, to favor one form of religion more than another.

"But the majority of the people of North Carolina are Christians, nominally, at least." That makes no difference. This matter is not affected by what happens to be majorities in any State at any given time. Minorities, also, have their rights. The Bill of Rights, protects them in the assertion of these rights. And the argument implied by the objector would prove too much. Suppose, as is possible, that Catholics or Baptists or Methodists or those holding any other form of belief or unbelief, should become more numerous than all others combined, what then?

If Christianity may be taught because Christians happen to be most numerous, Catholicism may be taught in a State institution when Catholics become most numerous. And if this dominant influence may be exerted in one institution on the ground of numerical majority, it may be with equal propriety exerted in all State institutions and in all departments of government.

If it be granted that the education which is most truly good and useful to the individual and to society must contain branches of study which discuss religious questions and must be thoroughly interpenetrated with decided religious influences, then the State is debarred from furnishing the education which is best and most useful. For in giving such education, it certainly does interfere with the rights of conscience: and this it is forbidden to do by the Constitution.

Hon. W. T. Harris, U. S. Commissioner of Education, has said, [Circular of Information No. 6, 1888]: "The separation of Church and State is an acknowledged principle in our National Government, and its interpretation from generation to generation eliminates with more and more of strictness whatever ceremonies and observances of a religious character still remain attached to secular questions and usages. \* \* All thoughtful persons look with solicitude on institutions of an educational character in order to discover what means, if any, can remain for moral education after the ecclesiastical foundation has been removed. \* \* It happens quite naturally that some of the best people in the community struggle to retain the ecclesiastical forms and ceremonies in the secular. They find themselves unable to discriminate between the provinces of morality and religion. With them education and morality means education in performing religious rites. But this view certainly does not harmonize with the political convictions of our people."

## XXVII.

Of course these principles are equally applicable to all education undertaken by the State, to public schools as well as colleges and universities. So far as the former are concerned, however, there is little practical difficulty. The child is at home a large part of the time, and religious instruction can easily be imparted there. The writer does not care to make any practical issue at this point, but whenever the issue shall be made, as it surely will be, sooner or later, neither prayer nor the reading of the Bible can be allowed in any school supported by general taxation. Morality may be inculcated, but the instruction given must be absolutely and entirely secular, as opposed to religious.

This seems to be the only ground on which it is possible to answer those Catholics who may claim a division of the public school money in such a way as to enable Catholic schools to be supported by it. But on this ground the solution of this troublesome problem seems to be very easy. If the State furnishes secular education which is absolutely colorless as to religious instruction and influence, the Catholic may avail himself of it or not, but he cannot say that there is any discrimination against him. And, if he wishes, he can easily arrange, as many do, to supplement the secular education given by the State with religious instruction elsewhere.

Rev. Howard Crosby says: "The public schools have no more right to teach religion than has the Military Academy or the Coast Survey."

President Payne, of Nashville, Tenn., says: "The genius of our institutions seems to require that our public schools should be purely a lay institution. In Cooley's Constitutional Limitations we find that the compulsory support, by taxation or otherwise, of religious instruction is named as one of those things which are not lawful under any of the American Constitutions. \* \* With the State as an educator, the school becomes a civil institution, and as such must abandon religious instruction, which must be relegated to the family and the Church. \* \* To conclude, the manifest destiny is to a secularization of the school."

President R. A. Venable, of Mississippi College, published a few weeks ago in a Tennessee paper the following statement of the argument:

"I do not believe the Bible should be read in the public schools. The Jew, the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, all pay taxes to keep up the schools. The Jew does not believe the New Testament is of divine origin. He does not believe in it. I take it he is sincere. He does not want his child to believe it. The Catholic does not believe in the Protestant Bible. Nor does the Protestant believe in the Catholic Bible. These both pay taxes. Read the Catholic Bible and you do violence to the Protestant. Read the Protestant Bible and you do violence to the Catholic. Read the New Testament and you hurt the Jew."

In *The Outlook*, of January 27th, 1894, is an article by E. B. Dahlgren, who gives the Catholic point of view: "Let there be no infringement of the religious rights or the wounding of the conscience of any of our people, be they Catholics, Protestants, or Jews. The Bible should be excluded. It properly belongs to the religious field of education. You have no more right to impose upon the Catholic the Protestant version of the Bible than he has to make you read his. Besides, the Catholic does not believe that every one is capable of expounding the Bible, much less that children of all ages are capable of proper reception of its contents. Nor should the Jew be compelled to listen to the New Testament which he does not consider inspired. It would seem beyond cavil that the Bible belongs to the religious field of education, and, as such, has no mission to fulfil in a purely non-sectarian school system."

On the ground which has been assumed, all difficulties in dealing with Catholic claimants for public school money will vanish. But the conditions are different, and the question is far more difficult to solve, if it can be solved at all, in the case of higher education by the State, where students are boarding away from home and from family influences. If a Catholic appeals for division of funds raised by taxation, that he may support a Catholic University, he cannot be told that the instruction and influences in a State Institution are religiously colorless. And he has the right to demand that they shall be made so absolutely. If this is not done, he has some ground for claiming his proportional part.

The doctrine of civil and religious liberty, fully recognized and carried out to all of its legitimate logical conclusions, will surely settle all these questions raised by the Catholics. But it is hardly likely that, when these are settled, States will undertake to provide higher education which contains any religious elements whatever.

## XXVIII.

A very widely published report on our State University, submitted last summer by a Committee of Trustees, contains the following remarkable language: "There is, in the University, 'a bias for religion, the religion of our own Bible, the Christian religion. Why should it not be so biased? Our civilization is a Christian civilization. Our school system is a Christian civilization. Our Constitution, which is a religious Constitution, declares that 'religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government, and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.' Does any one suppose that any other religion than that of our own Bible, or that any morality, except that of which our Bible is the best teacher was in the minds of the men who framed this Constitution?"

The language of Art. 9, Sec. 1, of the Constitution of North Carolina, which is quoted in the above report, is found, word for word, in Art. 3 of the Ordinance of 1787 for the Government of the Northwest Territory. Nathan Dane is said to be its author. This fundamental declaration in regard to "religion, morality and knowledge" has been incorporated into nearly all of the State Constitutions. Now, if the men who framed and passed this famous Ordinance, which, in the opinion of Daniel Webster, "has produced effects of as distinct, marked, and lasting character as any single law of any law-giver, ancient or modern,"—if these men intended by "religion" any one special form thereof, Christian or Jewish, or any other, they were out of

harmony with the Constitution which was adopted the same year, and with the first amendment thereto, which was declared in force four years afterwards. If religion in our State Constitution means the Christian religion, and no other, this section is not in accord with Sec. 26 of the North Carolina Declaration of Rights, which declares that, "All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and no human authority should, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience." And Sec. 29 declares that "A frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty." It is surely time for such a recurrence when it has been advertised in very many of the papers in our State that an institution, supported by taxes raised from Jews as well as from Christians, and provided for under a Constitution which forbids, in any case whatever, control of or interference with the rights of conscience, is, practically, a Christian institution.

It is difficult to believe that the men who originated and first adopted this famous clause which has, by degrees, been incorporated into the Constitutions of many States, and which was transferred into the Constitution of North Carolina at the time of reconstruction directly from the Constitution of one of the Northern States—it is hard to believe that these men had in their minds exclusively the religion of the Bible, the Christian Religion, in their own use of the word "religion." In 1785, an act for establishing Religious Freedom was passed by the Virginia Legislature. This was drawn up by Thomas Jefferson. Its passage was highly gratifying to its author, not because of the liberty which it gave exclusively to Christianity, but because of its impartiality between all faiths, its indifference to any faith. In Jefferson's own words (Baird's Religion of America, page 225) it comprehends "within the mantle of its protection the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Mohammedan, the Hindoo and the Infidel of every denomination."

On June 30th, 1835, in one of the most eloquent speeches ever made on American soil, William Gaston, said to the North Carolina Constitutional Convention: "I trust that we shall act up to the axiom proclaimed in our Bill of Rights, and permit no man to suffer inconvenience or to incur incapacity, because of religion, whether he be Jew or Gentile, Christian or Infidel, Heretic or Orthodox. \* \* Dare not to define divine truth, for it belongs not to your functions. \* \* Prohibit, restrain, and punish, as offences against human society, all practices insulting to the faith, the institutions, and the worship of your people, but \* \* make no distinction of ranks and orders in the community because of religious opinions." Debates of Convention of 1835, p. 292.)

And we find that this principle for which Jefferson contended, and upon which Gaston insisted, is recognized among those very States which have been created in accordance with the ordinance which first contained the words in question.

Three or four years ago, in Rock County, Wisconsin, application was made for a mandamus commanding the reading of the Bible in the public schools to be discontinued, on the ground that it is a sectarian book, and that, as such, the Constitution forbade its use in the public schools. The Supreme Court of the State, on appeal, decided that the Bible is a sectarian book, and directed that the writ of mandamus should be granted.

Suppose that a Jew should carry up to our own Supreme Court a case involving the question whether our State University or our public school system are distinctively Christian, what decision would have to be rendered in accordance with the Constitution?

And yet there is reason to believe that money raised by taxation from the people has been expended in advertising in the papers of the State—secular and religious—that there is a bias in our State University for the Christian religion, and that this bias is justified by the State Constitution. And it may be doubted whether any advertisement has ever been more potent in drawing to that institution those who would otherwise have entered other institutions which have a legitimate right to claim to be Christian colleges.

Little by little we are going to learn in this country to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's. Our own Constitution at one time, very inconsistently, as Judge Gaston showed, imposed religious tests and qualifications for some of the higher officials of the State. By degrees these have all disappeared.

The people will yet insist that the State shall have nothing to do with religion at any point, except to protect all men alike in their beliefs and worship, so far as they do not infringe on the rights of others. For the truth seems to be that a State is neither Christian nor unchristian, but has relations exclusively to the secular affairs of government.



## XXIX.

"All useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities."

This was the last clause of Art. 44 of the old Constitution of Pennsylvania. It was also the last clause of Art. 41 of the old Constitution of North Carolina. Inasmuch as the former was adopted some two months before the latter, the presumption is that the clause was taken by the framers of the North Carolina Constitution from the Constitution of Pennsylvania, or that it was derived by both from some common source.

In Pennsylvania, the State which first incorporated these words into its fundamental law, the discovery seems soon to have been made that a State could not provide "all useful learning."

Either from this or some other cause, when the Constitution of Pennsylvania was revised, several years later (1790), Art. 7, Sec. 2, was made to read, "The Arts and Sciences shall be promoted in one or more seminaries of learning." And it has been already noticed that the people of that State have promoted and encouraged the higher education, for the most part, on the Voluntary System.

The clause, thus repudiated by the State which originally adopted it, was retained in the North Carolina Constitution until this was changed after the Civil War.

And the right of the State educational institutions of North Carolina to give "all useful learning" is, to this day, not tacitly assumed, but openly declared.

If the doctrines of the Christian religion are any part of useful learning, then this right may be openly and fearlessly challenged.

The language of Sec. 26 (last clause) of the North Carolina Declaration of Rights is as follows:

"No human authority should, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience."

Whenever the State undertakes to teach or uphold by its authority any religious opinions which are not held by some, even a few, of its citizens, it *interferes* with the rights of conscience. When it uses money raised by the taxation of all for giving instruction or exerting influence, directly or indirectly, which antagonizes the religious opinions of any, it *controls* the rights of conscience, for a citizen is not at liberty to decline to pay the taxes which are so used.

Now, the education provided by a State must either include some religious elements or exclude all religious elements.

But if some religious elements are included, the Constitution is violated.

And if all religious elements are excluded, the education is imperfect.

Hence, the education provided by the State must either be in violation of the Constitution or imperfect.

But a State may not violate its Constitution.

Therefore, the education provided by a State must necessarily be imperfect; or, in other words, the State cannot provide "all useful learning."

## XXX.

The above is a restatement, in a different form, of the general line of argument already pursued. Some further discussion of the several questions involved would seem to be warranted by their very great importance.

On December 6th, 1776, after two months of what Thomas Jefferson, the champion of the movement, declared to be the severest contest in which he was ever engaged, the General Assembly of Virginia disestablished the Episcopal Church.

It was then moved that a general tax be levied for the support of "Teachers of the Christian Religion." Decision was postponed. In 1779 the bill passed two readings, but was defeated on the third.

In 1784, just after the close of the Revolution, the same measure was urged again in "A Bill establishing a provision for Teachers of the Christian Religion." The bill was about to pass, when Madison, who stoutly opposed it all the way through, succeeded in having the final vote postponed.

The bill was printed and generally circulated among the people. Madison wrote a Memorial and Remonstrance, which is one of the ablest State papers of an era fertile in such productions. This was so largely signed by the people that the bill was

defeated. Then was passed (December 26, 1785), "The Act for establishing Religious Freedom," which Jefferson had prepared several years before.

Every American citizen ought to read Madison's Remonstrance. Cogent in logic, transparent in style, and felicitous in the elegant use of language, it ought to stand forever as a breakwater between the secular functions of the State and the sacred rights of conscience.

Fifteen distinct reasons are adduced why the Christian religion should no more be established than any one denomination of Christians should be. The third is as follows:

"3. Because it is proper to take alarm at the first experiment upon our liberties. We hold this prudent jealousy to be the first duty of citizens, and one of the noblest characteristics of the late Revolution. The freemen of America did not wait till usurped power had strengthened itself by exercise, and entangled the question in precedents. They saw all the consequences in the principle; they avoided the consequences by denying the principle. We revere this lesson too much to forget it soon.

"Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other religions, may establish, with the same ease, any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects? \* \* \*

Who does not see that the same authority which can declare that the religion mentioned in the State Constitution is the Christian religion, may, with equal ease, declare any particular sect of Christians to be recognized by the Constitution?

### XXXI.

In his great speech in the North Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1835, Judge William Gaston—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—sought to justify himself for occupying a position on the Supreme bench, though he was a Roman Catholic, at a time when the Constitution forbade the holding of office to any man who denied the truth of the Protestant religion. The following paragraph is from that speech. If one will take the trouble to put the word "Christian" in the place of "Protestant" as he reads, he can apply the argument to the present discussion.

"Who shall judicially say what is the Protestant religion? If the Constitution defined the Protestant religion, or if the Protestant religion were made the religion of the country, and there were organized some ecclesiastical court or other proper tribunal, to determine its tenets and to decide on heresy, there would then be the means of legally determining what is that religion. But the Constitution does not define it, nor has it been made the religion of the State. Such a tribunal has not been established, nor, under the 34th Article of the Constitution, can it be erected. Innumerable sects, differing each from the other, in the interpretation of what all deem the revealed will of God—some holding for divine truth what others reject as pernicious error—are indiscriminately called and known as Protestants."

A message to the North Carolina Legislature from the Governor of the State (January, 1893), contains these words: "The University is a State institution as fully as the \* \* \* Legislature or the Courts."

If, then, a committee of the Trustees of the University may decide and publish to the world that the religion mentioned in the State Constitution is the Christian religion, the Legislature and the Courts may do the same.

This is not the place for the expression of any opinions which the writer of this paper may hold as to the comparative truth or value of the Christian religion. The question of comparative value or truth of forms of belief has absolutely nothing to do with the point at issue.

It is simply urged thatn either the State, nor those who act in the name of the State, have any right to discriminate between sects or to erect any tribunal for adjudication upon religious matters.

We are in the habit, perhaps, of thinking of Christianity only as including sects. But Christianity is itself only one among many sects under the larger generalization of religion. It was from this point of view that the Supreme Court of Wisconsin rightly decided that the Bible is a sectarian book.

The writer does not need to be reminded of the decisions of Mr. Justice Hammond, of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, "*In re King*," and of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Trinity Church, N. Y. vs. the United States*. He may have something to say in regard to these decisions hereafter, if it should become necessary.



## XXXII.

Thomas Jefferson reported to the Commissioners of the University of Virginia (October 7, 1822), that provision had been made "for courses of ethical lectures, developing those moral obligations in which all sects agree; that, proceeding thus far without offence to the Constitution, they had left at this point to every sect to take into their own hands the office of further instruction in the peculiar tenets of each.

"It was not meant, however, to be understood that instruction in religious opinions and duties was meant to be precluded by the public authorities, as indifferent to the interests of society. On the contrary, the relations which exist between man and his Maker, and the duties arising from those relations, are the most interesting and important to every human being, and the most incumbent on his study and investigation. The want of instruction in the various creeds of religious faith existing among our citizens presents, therefore, a chasm in a general institution of the useful sciences. But it was thought that this want, and the instrument to each society of instruction in its own doctrines, were evils of less danger than a permission to the public authorities to dictate modes or principles of religious instruction—or than opportunities furnished them of giving countenance or ascendancy to any one sect over another." (Randall's Life of Jefferson, Vol. III, p. 468.)

It would seem that the teaching done by a State must not only exclude religious instruction, but that all the branches of study which contain religious elements must be either eliminated or taught only in part. There is some difficulty in apprehending how even the ethical lectures mentioned by Jefferson can be provided by a State.

President Woolsey, of Yale, gives an elaborate discussion of the whole question. The following quotation is from his Political Science (Vol. II, page 407, Scribner's, 1877): "But, besides this unwillingness of the denominations that one should have advantages from the State which all cannot enjoy, the trenchant principle of entire separation between Church and State will involve a divorce between the State and theological science, for the science itself will have closer connections with one church than with another. \* \* \* We can hardly conceive, then, that a complete university can exist under State patronage in the United States.

"But, still further, how can History or Ethics be taught in a university, unless the professor expresses himself on great events like the Reformation or the Papacy of the Middle Ages, which have to do with the progress of mankind? Here, if all Protestants nearly are agreed, Catholics will differ from them entirely, and may justly urge that their opinions are attacked without having an opportunity to defend them. Thus, history cannot be taught, or must be taught by rival professors. \* \* \* Again, though it would naturally be thought at first that Mental and Moral Philosophy are a field where all theists can meet together, this is not found to be the case, and especially in Ethics will the freedom and responsibility of the individual man be subjects of conflict.

"Even in Great Britain it was thought necessary in the Dublin University Bill of 1873 to exclude the teaching, not only of Theology, but also of Morals and Metaphysics as a necessary part of instruction. \* \* \* Here we see one of the most enlightened men of the age consenting to urge through Parliament a mutilated university, one that belied its name, and this, we suppose, because he thought no other plan feasible. History, with even greater reason, should be excluded, for who could calculate the power of a man like Ranke, to spread convictions which he could not but utter, touching the very essence of Catholicism as tested by history. \* \* \* Hence, it would seem that there is an insuperable difficulty in the way of such State institutions which no time, no compromises can remove."

## XXXIII.

But at this point some one may be ready to ask: "What shall that man do who does not happen to belong to a religious denomination which has established a college? Must his son or daughter go without the advantages of a liberal education?"

These questions are answered by Bishop Haygood in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* (July, 1893, page 819).

"In the South undenominational colleges are State institutions, a curious notion existing that such as do not wish to patronize denominational colleges must depend

on the State to solve the problem for them. It is very singular, yet true, that it seems never to have occurred to the worthy people who are unwilling to send their children to church schools, that they are not shut up to the alternative of asking the State to tax their neighbors, who do approve of denominational schools, to provide them with schools. The suggestion has been made to them that there is another way: they might establish schools to suit them with their own money."

And the late Bishop McTyeire has expressed nearly the same view, as follows: "It is held to be bad political economy for the State to charge itself with doing that which, if let alone, religious zeal and private munificence can and will do as well, and even better. There is a class, not without activity and influence, who affect breadth and elevation and, in the face of this axiom of political economy, cry out: 'What! must a great State be dependent on sectarian and private benevolence for the education of its sons?' Their exclamation goes for argument, ignoring the fact that the best literary institutions of this country had that origin. The anti-church sect is the most intolerant of all the sects. These gentlemen have a way of getting into the management of all public trusts, and of dispensing or enjoying the patronage. If they wish godless and unsectarian colleges and universities, this is a free country; let them build and run them at their own expense. It is asking too much of a Christian people to do this for them."

We need to get rid of the idea that a State is under obligation to furnish education to any man, woman or child, except on the ground of necessity for its own protection and preservation. And it would be absurd to claim that the higher education is in any sense necessary to fit a man or woman for the discharge of the duties or the the enjoyment of the privileges of ordinary citizenship.

#### XXXIV.

In an address delivered in 1889, at Tremont Temple, Boston, Dr. Geo. D. Boardman, of Philadelphia, said: "Remembering now that our American theory of government disavows the union of Church and State, it is evident that the State cannot thoroughly educate. For her to attempt this would be for her to overleap her jurisdiction. She has no right to invade the empire of the inner life, or to sceptre conscience and faith. Accordingly, the education which the State gives must be necessarily defective—defective, too, at the very point which is pivotal in man's career."

Dr. Nunnally, late President of Mercer University, Ga., has said: "The State can go no further than the education of muscle and mind. For in the separation of Church and State—in the organic law of the State—it was expressly agreed that the State should never by law or edict or requirement, do or demand anything that would in any wise affect the moral sense. The door to the domain of conscience, by common consent, was forever barred against the State. To complete an education, to make an educated man, the conscience, the moral sense, must be educated, as well as the muscle or the mind. But the State cannot interfere with or enter this sacred territory; hence the State is incapacitated. \* \* But, it is argued, the State schools do teach moral science, do instruct in the Evidence of Christianity, do recognize the authority of the Bible, and recommend it as the standard of right and wrong. Admitted, but it is a usurpation, and is tolerated only by the grace of the people. No professor in a State school can claim this privilege as a right."

One occasionally sees in the announcement of a State university the offer of a course of study in the Evidences of Christianity. All Christians will agree that this subject ought to be taught; but what right has the State to tax Israelites and Deists for the teaching of that which tends to undermine their conscientious convictions?

No State university can consistently be in any true sense a Christian institution. Dr. A. H. Strong, of Rochester, N. Y., has given what seems to the writer to be an excellent description of such a college. "A Christian college is an institution established to promote the kingdom of Christ by training young men's (or women's) highest powers, intellectual, social, and religious, for the service of Christ in the Church or in the State. That is not a Christian college in which Christianity is something merely tacit and nominal. That only is a Christian college in which Christianity is the confessed and formative principle of the whole organization, method, and life. \* \* The professors should be actively Christian men. Theoretical belief is not enough, Christian profession is not enough."

Dr. B. H. Carroll, of Texas, in an address delivered in May, 1891, at Birmingham, Ala., spoke as follows: "Education is the proper development of the whole man—

body, mind, and spirit. \* \* Christian education is not instruction in the dogmas of the Christian religion, or in distinctive denominational tenets, but is secular education in a Christian atmosphere, and under Christian supervision. \* \* Denominational educational belongs to history rather than to debate. Whoever questions its propriety quarrels with the past, the present, and all the reliable forecasts of the future which experience projects. It found a place in history from a triple necessity: (1) The nature of man and his relations to divine government. (2) The full import of education itself. (3) The fact that there is no fitness nor jurisdiction in any other power to warrant supervision in this full import of the term. Therefore, Christians must intermeddle with education. To intermeddle at all, they must intermeddle much. To intermeddle much, they must intermeddle wisely, so as not to beat the air."

Such an institution as is described by Dr. Strong, such education as is commended by Dr. Carroll, can never be subsidized by any State without violating the fundamental ideas of religious freedom.

### XXXV.

This doctrine, that a State has no constitutional right whatever to provide Christian instruction, or to give any one form of belief any advantage over another, is of such fundamental importance that some additional extracts will be given. They will serve to indicate the steady growth of the opinions advocated in this article. It would be easy to fill many pages with similar expressions from eminent educators and divines, from lawyers and statesmen, from authors and editors, representing almost every State in the Union. Those are very much mistaken who may imagine that the issues raised in these articles are only temporary or local.

Rev. W. T. Spear, D. D., late of Brooklyn, N. Y. (Presbyterian), says that State systems of education "should be rigidly confined to the secular sphere of knowledge, leaving religious instruction and worship to be attended to by other agencies. \* \* The all-pervading principle of our American Constitution is that the State, as such, has nothing to do with religion beyond affording to the people protection in the enjoyment of their religious rights, and that, too, without discrimination among them. It is difficult to see how a State established upon this principle, and for reasons of State policy conducting a school system at the public expense, can make that system the instrument of religious instruction or worship in any form. It manifestly cannot do so without contradicting the fundamental law of its own religious life."

President Folwell, late of the University of Minnesota, wrote: "The complete secularization of our schools is an essential factor in the present fairest civilization the world has ever known."

Hon. F. A. Sawyer, United States Senator from South Carolina, says: "Whenever a contest is made which involves the principle underlying this matter, those who insist upon religious instruction \* \* in the school must give way." \* \*

Ex-Governor Cox, of Ohio, says: "My belief is that public education, so far as supported by the State, will be secularized."

Horace Davis, of California, says: "State colleges should be placed upon an entirely secular basis."

### XXXVI.

If, at this point, reply should be made that State colleges have been committed by the legislatures to boards of trustees, and that these have the right to do what the Constitutions of the States prohibit the legislatures themselves from doing, it will only be necessary to reply that no legislature can create or delegate powers which it does not itself possess, except as authorized by a fair construction of the Constitution. And the same may be said with reference to powers delegated to officers and faculties of these institutions. And it may be further added that in our own State the Constitution does not allow the control to pass from the hands of the legislature, for it is itself empowered to make such laws and regulations from time to time, as may be necessary and expedient for the management of the University.

Our State University system was originally moulded to a greater or less extent upon European models. It could hardly have been otherwise. Modifications, such as seemed needful at the time—the omission, for instance, of departments of Theology, were made. But if State institutions of learning are to continue to exist, further

modifications will necessarily have to be made. In the Northwest the tendency is toward entire secularization of State universities. And just in proportion as they become secularized, a decided reaction is taking place in favor of the Christian colleges.

European countries, almost without exception, have had State Churches, established by law. In Germany, it is, whether right or wrong in itself, perfectly logical for one hour each day to be given in every public school to the study of the Bible as interpreted by the State Church. It is also natural and logical for religion to be taught in all the great German universities. But in our country it is not logical. Our Constitutions must be changed before it can be made so. True, much of it has been allowed by sufferance, but it has always been illogical. The people may change their constitutions in order to secure logical consistency. But, if they do not wish to do that, the only other way to secure logical consistency is to eliminate all studies and all influences which favor one kind of religion more than another from all their institutions supported by taxation.

The writer of this paper is well aware that conclusions, legitimate and logical, in several directions, may be drawn from the position which has been assumed. But he does not hesitate to express his matured conviction that it will be far better to accept all the consequences which may flow from recognition of these principles, at every point and in every direction, than to allow the sacred rights of conscience of any man to be invaded by secular authority.

### XXXVII.

But, even if it were possible to retain all desirable studies, could these studies be pursued, in a State institution, in the midst of a distinctively Christian atmosphere?

The question, it will be observed, is not whether an institution may be located in a community in which there are churches and pastors, &c., of all kinds, but whether religious influences may be encouraged to permeate the institution itself.

If it should be claimed that there is in several State colleges a high standard of Christianity and morality, this claim will not be disputed. Facts in substantiation of such a claim may be interesting in themselves; but, however numerous they may be, they will be no answer to the argument which is here presented. For the point at issue is, not whether a State ever uses the means by which this condition is produced, but whether a State ever has the right to do so. And it might also be asked whether there is any good ground for expecting this condition to be permanent.

The late Dr. Mangum, referring to his work as a Professor at Chapel Hill, wrote: "I vow, and would gladly appeal to my students as witnesses, that in and out of the class room I have found it practicable, without violation of my duty to respect the denominational rights of every student, most earnestly to inculcate Christian morals, and often most urgently to press upon young men the duty to commit themselves to all that is involved in personal religion."

And the writer has again and again heard another eminent Professor of Moral Philosophy in a State University insist upon doctrines, which, however admirable and true they may have been in themselves, antagonized the beliefs of large numbers of the citizens of the State that employed him.

It is not enough to "respect the denominational rights of every student" in a State college. The religious opinions of all other citizens, who may not be students, must also be respected. And, as has already been pointed out, "denominational" has a far wider range of significance from the point of view of a State than from the point of view of any Protestant church.

If the Trustees of a State school may provide a building, or even the site for a building, for any one kind of religious services, can they deny its use for any other services which may claim to be religious? Who would decide what teaching might be admitted, and what should be excluded? And what would be the criterion for a decision? Such objections as these are not visionary, as one might, perhaps, say in reply, for practical difficulties of this sort have actually presented themselves for solution in other States.

A chair may be filled for a time by a man of Christian faith and spirit. Yet, if the same chair should become vacant, it may be filled by some accomplished lecturer who would not hesitate to teach doctrines subversive of the Christian faith. Those who act as the agents of the State in the appointment of instructors cannot interfere with the rights of conscience.

Dr. Williams, of Michigan, says: "Every Chair is liable at some time to be filled by a brilliant skeptic, who will use his position and the influence of the State university to scatter his skeptical views; and, so long as he is in other respects a good and acceptable teacher, he will not be removed on account of his skepticism. \* \* \* Something else must be made the pretext for his removal. One such brilliant, genial, and popular professor, who is skeptical, will neutralize the efforts of a dozen Christian teachers. One man can sow more tares in a single day than a dozen men can root up in a month.

\* \* \* A newspaper dispatch says, 'The Rectors of the Missouri State University have created a storm by inviting the Rev. Dr. ——— to deliver the Baccalaureate Address to the students at the annual commencement. In his address Dr. ——— was more radical than ever, and told the students plainly that it was not necessary for them to believe in the divinity of Christ or the inspiration of the Bible. The ministers of the city, at their meeting on Monday, denounced the action of the University authorities, and declared that it was time for the Christian people of the State to stop the preaching of infidelity to students.' It is not quite clear how the good brethren will remedy the evil. The State has never adopted any creed, and the Rectors have exercised only their legal authority.

"There are flourishing Young People's Christian Associations in connection with the State institutions, and they have appropriated to their use rooms in University halls. \* \* But if the Christian Associations are allowed the use of rooms in State buildings, it is difficult to see how the same privilege could consistently be denied to a Unitarian or Catholic club, if it should be requested. All these difficulties are encountered if the State undertakes to give religious instruction. Hence, the belief that it can successfully do so appears to be unfounded."

### XXXVIII.

In the Western States the Christian colleges are placed at great disadvantage by the larger material resources of State universities. But they have some compensation in being able to offer surroundings and influences and instruction with a bias for the Christian religion, which most of the State institutions there are not allowed to do.

If, in North Carolina, the State proposes not merely to provide secular instruction, but to provide it under distinctively Christian auspices, what need will there be for Christian colleges?

The late Professor Mangum, of Chapel Hill, near the close of his elaborate and able discussion of "Church and State in their relations to education in North Carolina," wrote, referring to the several Christian colleges: "I not only grant that they are here, and here to stay, but I earnestly contend that they are needed, and will be needed, as long as certain facts, tendencies and theories continue as they now are."

His next paragraph, in which he suggests what he means by "facts, tendencies and theories," is entirely too long to be reproduced here.

The substance of it is a plea that more decided and practical recognition should be given to the Christian instruction and influences in our State institutions. If, therefore, there is force in the arguments which have been advanced against Christian instruction and influence under the auspices of a State, the learned and pious writer of the article referred to would probably be among the first to admit that the State cannot furnish secular education in a safe way and in a satisfactory degree. For the "facts, tendencies and theories" to which he refers cannot, in the very nature of things, be eliminated without virtually transforming State institutions into Christian colleges.

### XXXIX.

None of the objections which have been advanced can be urged against religious instruction and influence in distinctively Christian colleges. They can, without cost to the State, do all the work in higher education that State institutions can do; they can do it as well; and they can do it under Christian auspices, yet without the slightest tendency to proselyting influences. If the burden of responsibility shall be thrown upon these, is it not far more likely that they will embrace in their teaching the whole range of human knowledge, than that State institutions can ever consistently do so? This has been the case in New England and in the Middle States. It is just

as likely that adequate endowments will ultimately come to them as that State institutions, subject as they are to peculiar limitations, will have permanent success.

There is no greater mistake than to suppose that Christian colleges are essentially small or poor or narrow in their conceptions and aims. The colleges which form the universities at Oxford and Cambridge in England are connected with the State because the Church is established. But, almost without exception, they were founded and endowed in the name and for the sake of Christianity. And the same is true of all the great mediæval foundations of Continental Europe.

With reference to Christian colleges, Dr. W. H. Ruffner wrote, when Superintendent of Public Instruction in Virginia, "I am persuaded, after careful examination, that the usefulness and popularity of a college are not necessarily diminished because it is controlled by a particular denominational influence. If properly managed, this simply secures an earnest and *peaceful* religious influence over young men under circumstances in which it is specially important that they should have it. Whilst, on the one hand, the home teaching and influence in religious matters may be sufficient for children whilst going to school at or near home; and whilst, on the other, the mature young man who goes to the university may be trusted to keep himself under wholesome influence, the immature youth who goes from home before his habits have been firmly established, needs to be placed under the guaranteed influence of the most healthful sort; and there is nothing better than the homogeneous habits and spirit of a denominational college."

## XL.

It is sometimes said, as if it were a sufficient answer to every argument that could be urged, that some of the State universities are older than some of the colleges which are now endangered.

It may be worth while, as suggesting a reply, to enquire into the reasons which, in part, at least, justified the founding of these colleges. People do not make large sacrifice of time and money and labor on purely sentimental grounds. There must have been, in the opinion of the founders, real need of, and demand for, other colleges for the accomplishment of something which existing institutions were not accomplishing. What was this? There can be no question that one of the most potent reasons in the minds of the founders was due to the condition of the State institutions at and before that time. This condition, as is well known, has long since changed to a very great extent. Whether it may not prevail again, if the Christian colleges shall be destroyed or greatly weakened, is another question. The former condition was the outcome of logical consistency. The present condition, though far better, has been secured in part, at least, by means which a State has no right to employ.

The writer has in his possession material which furnishes abundant proof that the condition of at least some of these institutions was so unfriendly to the formation of steady habits and Christian character as to cause Christian parents to fear to entrust their sons to their influence. The fear of being misunderstood prevents him from giving facts in detail. And it was the desire to furnish a safer environment, under distinctively religious influences, as well as to aid in the education of their ministry, that moved several of the religious denominations, during the first half of this century, to lay the foundations of many colleges in almost every part of the country.

That the work of these institutions has been valuable, and that their influence has been beneficent, no one who knows the facts can question. They have exerted a most salutary influence upon other educational institutions. It has been stated to the writer by an excellent authority that the tone of the religious life of a great Southern University was to a great extent changed for the better by the men who had graduated at Christian colleges and took higher courses of study there. Now, if a State shall undertake to do all this work of higher education, is there not a possible danger of reversion to the former type? Is it likely that in any part of the country high standards of religious excellence can be maintained in State institutions when the stimulating influences of the Christian colleges shall have finally ceased to operate?

The following paragraph is from an article by the late Bishop McTyeire: "The best, if not the only moral safeguard of a State University, is the healthful existence of similar institutions under denominational patronage. Living men may recollect the bad moral atmosphere that infected certain State universities before denominational institutions arose to shame them into propriety. Infidelity, drunkenness, pro-

fanity, were no bar to a professorship; and the corrupting exploits of professors were a jest among students. When Dr. Cooper, eminent for science, was president of the South Carolina College, some of the choicest youth of the State were tainted with his infidelity. There was no alternative to a parent who feared to expose his son to that influence but to send him abroad."

## XLI.

This, however, is not the only way in which the Christian colleges have been useful. A few years ago a very competent authority made some enquiries as to the comparative number of ministers educated in State and denominational institutions, and with interesting results. Having tabulated returns secured from thirty-four leading theological seminaries of the United States—5 Baptist, 7 Congregational, 6 Episcopal, 3 Methodist, 11 Presbyterian, and 2 Unitarian—he found that they had received 69 students from 25 State universities, and 1,103 from 133 Christian colleges.

Since the above was written, a statement has appeared in *The Independent* (New York, Jan. 18, 1894), which reveals even a greater disparity. President Fisher, of Indiana, has tabulated statements from the catalogues for '92-'3 of the eleven largest theological seminaries in the United States. Sixty-one of the young ministers came from State universities, and one thousand and seventy-seven from distinctively Christian colleges. Dr. Fisher, in seeking the cause for this great contrast, says: "Religiously, \* \* the only basis upon which these institutions can be consistently administered is one that, as to instruction, makes no more distinction than does the State itself between Christian, Jew and infidel. It does not follow that they are 'godless,' but only that, by virtue of the conception of the neutrality of the State, and her functions as to religion, which we as a people have accepted, and are coming more and more to apply in all directions, in none of them can there be that positive, constant presentation of the gospel that has always been so conspicuous in the distinctively Christian colleges of the land."

It is likely that if the means were at hand for making such a comparative statement concerning the ministers who have attended colleges, but have not continued their studies at seminaries, the contrast would be even greater. To weaken in any way the colleges which have done such a work as this for the uplifting of the people through the ministry would not, to say the very least, be best for the future of this country.

Dr. O. P. Eaches, of New Jersey, delivered an address in 1888 in Washington City, in which he said: "Visitors to Milan must have observed that the wonderful cathedral of that city is adorned with numerous statuettes of saints; but he may not have noticed that, rising from them, are multitudes of lightning rods, designed to divert the dangerous electric current from the magnificent structure. \* \* We, too, have a sacred edifice, grounded in truth, and needed to shelter humanity from sin and sorrow. Storms roar about it; infidelity flashes its scorn about it, and pessimism and agnosticism hurl their bolts at its glory-crowned summit. And shall we be indifferent to its future? The portentous clouds can be harmlessly emptied of their wrath only by sound scholarship, by learning springing from religion. Such learning, like the images on Milan cathedral, will protect while it beautifies."

"What is thus true of Christianity as a whole is equally true of its parts—of the various denominations which give it organic form and co-operative force in the world. Presbyterianism, Methodism, Episcopalianism, and the rest, cannot afford to hand over education to the tender mercies of the secular authorities. To do so were to ensure the rapid growth of skepticism and materialism, and to jeopardize the existence of their own bodies. Under distinctively secular teaching there would be no cultivation of the religious nature. Conscience and the capacity for faith would alike be neglected, and there would, therefore, be but shallow and unfriendly soil for the reception of positive Christian truth."

These last expressions are strong, but are they at all too strong? Not a few of the friends of the State colleges understand the situation and foresee the dangers. Some, like Dr. Ely, would have the influences which are now in operation in the Christian colleges clustered in close propinquity around the State institutions. Others would convert State institutions into full fledged Christian colleges. But this cannot be done until both State and Federal Constitutions are radically changed. At every announcement of such action the friends of religious liberty may cry with amazement, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" And they believe that they have the right to demand his credentials.



Bishop Atticus G. Haygood, in *Methodist Quarterly Review*, July, 1893, says: "It is now settled that the Church must engage in the work of education. The Church school is in no sense a luxury; it is a prime necessity. The Church cannot get on without it.

"The State does well if it secures the elementary education of the people. In a republican form of government the State has nothing to do with college or university education. As to higher education, whatever the State may attempt or achieve, it cannot do the work of the Church. If the Church should close her schools, and leave moral with religious instruction and training to the State schools, she would suffer a loss fatal to her efficiency." Education, it is now agreed, is a normal function of the Church. \* \* \*

"Christian education is vital to the efficiency of the Church. The State cannot give, if it tried, the educational furnishing, in training and knowledge, absolutely necessary for the work of the Church. If the State gave every boy and girl a university education, the religious schools and Christian education would still be necessary to the Church; so necessary that, after a few generations, if we had only State schools, we would have no Church worth living and working for."

And when it is remembered that many thousands of men trained in Christian colleges have gone out into every part of the country, and into every profession and calling, can it be doubted that this is a better country to-day because of the existence of these colleges? These colleges also have their traditions; they can point with maternal pride to hundreds, living and dead, of their alumni who have filled with honor every position of trust which a people could bestow, and they know that they have the affections of multitudes of all sorts and conditions of men. Yet their usefulness is clearly imperiled. It is not wise to wait till too late before sounding the note of warning. The tendencies are evident.

The decision must ultimately be with the people. Their will, when they shall have clearly understood the issues, and secured recognition of its expression, will be the end of complaint and controversy. But, if they shall say that it is right and expedient for the State to occupy the whole field of higher as well as lower education at the present time, and that they believe that the State is competent to do so adequately, then the occupation of many of the colleges will soon be gone, and upon their portals will be written "Ichabod,—their glory is departed."

## XLII.

Several objections, of a general nature, have been brought to the notice of the writer. It may, perhaps, not be out of place, before concluding, to subject them to brief examination.

*First.* One sometimes hears the remark made,—and made as if it were a fall and final answer to all possible objections to higher education by the State, that "the cost of it is very small to the individual taxpayer."

Several rejoinders might be made.

1. The same argument was used against Madison's argument for Religious Liberty. Taxpayers were assured that the amount which they would have to pay to an "establishment" would be "moderate."

2. The principle involved is entirely independent of the amount expended. If it be right, expedient, and possible for the State to provide higher education, then "a great State like North Carolina" ought to spend far more than it does upon its young women and young men. If not right, or expedient, or possible, then the State ought not to spend a single cent for this purpose, even though the tax-payers should not feel the burden at all.

3. The amount expended on higher education may be small to the individual taxpayer, but in the aggregate it is enough to pay teachers to keep open at least a thousand more common schools in North Carolina for the length of time that these schools are now kept open. For the general expenses of the system are already provided for.

4. The amount may not be large *now* for the individual tax-payer. What guarantee is there that it will continue to be small? The tendency is toward large increase.

5. The suggestion of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the last General Assembly that the general tax for public schools be increased ten cents on each \$100 of property in order that the schools might be kept open four months, involved the same principle. This tax would have been very small in the case of each individual tax-payer. Yet the legislature would not vote for this increase.



6. Granting that each citizen is required, for the present, to pay only a few cents (on an average) for the support of higher education by taxation, it is claimed that the way will still be open to each citizen to pay the same amount, if he wishes to do so, for the same purpose under the Voluntary plan.

The above considerations seem to be not without some real weight.

*Second.* "Inasmuch as wealthy citizens pay a large proportion of the taxes collected, ought not the State to make provision for the higher education of their sons and daughters as well as for the elementary education of all in the public schools?"

This question seems to imply a total misconception of the objects of taxation. A rich man pays no more than a poor man, in proportion to the amount of property protected by the State. The State is under no obligation to give back anything to either. A rich man may pay more for insurance for protection from fire than a poor man does. This is because he has more to protect. The company is under no obligation, if it fulfills its contract, to give back anything to either; certainly no more to one than to the other. And it is not true that, though the wealthy man pays more taxes (absolutely, not relatively) than the poor man, he does not feel it as much?

*Third.* "Shall, then, a great State like North Carolina refuse to give higher education to its sons and daughters?"

There is a sentimental element in this appeal which gives to it whatever of force it has. When this has been eliminated, the answer is not far to seek.

The question is not whether young men and women shall have higher education or not, but whether it shall be provided by taxation or on the Voluntary system.

North Carolina is a great State, and, if it will educate the children, is probably destined to surpass in her future greatness the wildest dreams of our imagination. But, great or small (for it is a matter of principle, not of magnitude), the State is under no obligation to "give" higher education to any of its citizens.

*Fourth.* "But are not the views presented in this paper very radical and revolutionary?"

If by "radical" the objector means that the discussion aims to go to the root of the matter, the writer will gladly accept the term.

The "revolutionary" views are not those held by the writer, but are advanced by those who within the last few years have secured large State grants from the treasury of the State for higher education—a thing unknown in North Carolina until after the close of the civil war. The Voluntary system in higher education is, in its very nature, the more conservative method.

Quibbling questions may, of course, be raised as to the point where common school instruction should end, and the higher education begin. The writer believes that the shrewd common sense of the people will need no assistance in meeting all such objections.

### XLIII.

For the views advanced in this paper, the writer assumes all responsibility. He has not asked, and does not desire formal endorsement from any individual, institution, political party, or Christian denomination. Truth needs no external buttresses. Error is usually already well supplied with them. If the argument is valid, it will, sooner or later, cut its own way. If it can be shown to be unsound, it ought to fall to the ground; and the writer hopes that, in that case, it will speedily do so. His only object is to help, and not to hurt, the cause of education,—of all education in North Carolina.

As a matter of accident, this discussion was originally published in a religious newspaper. To this fact are probably due the references to "narrow denominational bigotry" which have appeared in connection with it. It may not be out of place, therefore, to express the opinion that, if it had first appeared in a secular paper, and if the authorship were unknown, no one, from any internal evidence, could even guess what religious views or political tenets (in the partisan sense) happen to be held by the writer.

There is absolutely nothing personal in this discussion. Some of the best friends whom the writer has ever had, have been connected with State institutions. And there are many others who hold similar positions whom he warmly admires, and whose friendship he would highly value. He has only sought to establish some fundamental principles, and to question the wisdom and equity of some manifest tendencies.

It would be, perhaps, too much to hope that a discussion of so wide a scope, written during hours redeemed from a very busy life, will be found entirely free from errors. An honest effort has been made to be accurate in statement and logical in inference. Very gratefully will the writer accept from any source the information or suggestion which may enable him to make a needed correction.

For the number and length of the quotations which have been incorporated into this paper, no apology is needed. They present either the opinions of experts or statements of facts.

Incidental matters in this discussion may, and doubtless will be, criticised. But the writer ventures to hope that his three main contentions will prove to be true, and that they will abide the results of criticism. But if any one of them should prove untrue, the other two would still hold. And even if any two strands of the triple cord should be broken, the third, if it remains intact, will be strong enough to support the general conclusion.

This conclusion,—and it is important that we should recognize its importance as, in this transition era, we are shaping the future educational policy of our State,—the conclusion is, that we should rely on voluntary beneficence for the endowment and equipment of all institutions for higher education, and that we should aim for the establishment, at the earliest possible day, by wise taxation, of a six months' public school within reach of every child in North Carolina.



# APPENDIX.

## MEMORIAL OF THE VIRGINIA COLLEGES.

*To the General Assembly of Virginia.*

WHEREAS, In his last message Governor Lee directed the attention of the Legislature to the value of the work done, without cost to the State, by the denominational colleges and private institutions for higher education in Virginia; and

WHEREAS, This work is necessarily affected by measures relating to public instruction annually brought before the Legislature; and

WHEREAS, It is desirable that the supporters of these institutions shall not be discouraged in their efforts to continue and to extend their work by fear of unnecessary and destructive competition by the State, but that the place occupied by such denominational and private institutions be recognized in the educational policy of the State, and harmonious co-operation be secured between them and the institutions for higher education sustained by the public treasury; and

WHEREAS, Such harmonious relations would, by avoiding the unnecessary duplication of work, both improve the educational advantages offered our people and diminish the public expense;

Therefore, your memorialists desire respectfully to submit to your honorable body:

1. That the educational institutions not aided or controlled by the State, have invested in buildings, grounds and educational appliances not less than \$800,000, and that, beginning in some cases at a period nearly one hundred years before the establishment of the present public school system of Virginia, they have carried on the work of higher education, and are now giving instruction to 900 students annually—600 of them from Virginia—without cost to the State.

2. That these institutions were not organized, nor are they conducted, with a view to pecuniary profit to their projectors, but for philanthropic and benevolent ends. That, not only do they receive no rent or income from the \$800,000 invested as above stated, but that they expend upon the education which they give, apart from and in addition to all receipts from students, not less than \$60,000 annually from other funds and resources secured by them; that by remitting college fees in whole or in part, and by loan funds and other means, they are aiding annually not less than 400 students, thus enabling young men to secure a collegiate education which they could not otherwise obtain.

3. That if the preparation of teachers for the public schools is to be recognized as a valuable service to the State, it will be seen from the report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1885, that 210 of the public school teachers, who were reported as having had collegiate training, came from our institutions, and 130 from the institutions of higher education supported by the State, while the report of 1889, now in press, will show that 265 public school teachers then employed were educated in the State institutions, and 1,836 in institutions of higher education not supported by the State—our colleges not being separately reported.

4. That the School Report for 1889 shows that thus far the funds applicable to the public school system, have only sufficed to provide schools for elementary instruction for one-half the school population; that the average school term is less than six months; that the average salary of teachers is not over \$180 per year, and that the State invests in the work \$1,620,000 a year. To attain satisfactory results from these schools, to whose maintenance the State is committed, and to make the annual expenditures yield adequate return in education to the public, an increase is necessary in the length of the school term, the number of schools, and the compensation of teachers. As the Superintendent of Public Instruction says, "to double the investment is to quadruple the results," yet these important improvements would easily absorb a million of dollars annually of any revenue the State might have for educational purposes. In view of this urgent claim, and the necessity for large appropriations to sustain the University of Virginia and other State institutions already established for special purposes, can the State afford to undertake the costly work of providing college education which, even in the rich commonwealths of the North and East, where the public school system has long been developed, has been left to individual or denominational benevolence?

5. We further submit that these institutions, so honorably mentioned by Governor Lee, have the confidence of the public as furnishing, with unobjectionable surroundings, sound and adequate courses of instruction, and that they are endeared by their histories, associations and benefactions to the great body of the people of Virginia, to whose affection and support they owe their existence.

And your memorialists ask of your honorable body that, in giving direction to the educational policy of the State by your legislation, due consideration be given to the foregoing facts, and that institutions of such value to the commonwealth be not destroyed nor impeded by unnecessary competition from institutions controlled by the State and supported by appropriations from her treasury, but that such State institutions be directed, so far as may be practicable, to provide technical, industrial or professional training, or such higher literary and scientific instruction as shall supplement and not substitute the work done by your memorialists.

And your memorialists will ever pray.

WM. W. SMITH, *President Randolph-Macon College.*

B. PURYEAR, *Chairman Faculty Richmond College.*

J. D. DREHER, *President Roanoke College.*

RICHARD MCILWAIN, *President Hampden-Sidney College.*

JAMES ATKINS, *President Emory and Henry College.*

## ACTION OF THE WESTERN N. C. METHODIST CONFERENCE, DECEMBER, 1893.

Dr. James Atkins, President of Asheville Female College, then offered the following paper, which was adopted by the Conference:

WHEREAS, It is true that from the foundation of the Commonwealth of North Carolina, the principal work in higher education has been chiefly by the Church, and by private enterprise under the endorsement and support of the Church; and Whereas, we believe it to be in accord with neither the will of the Church nor a wise statecraft for this work to be abandoned by the Church and wholly transferred to the State; and Whereas, the schools of the Church and therein the cause of higher education are crippled by the present scope and plan of operating the higher State schools; and Whereas, we greatly prefer a proper adjustment of these relations by the State Legislature to a progressive antagonism to these institutions themselves; therefore,

*Resolved* 1. That we do hereby regretfully, but urgently, petition the Legislature of the State of North Carolina next to assemble, to establish such an order in the higher schools under its control as will obviate this conflict of work and interests.

2. That a committee be appointed by the Chair, whose duty it shall be to visit the next session of the Legislature and lay before it, in behalf of the Conference, our complaints and the substance of this petition; and meanwhile to secure a proper discussion of the subject, and to seek the co-operation of other religious bodies in accomplishing the ends of this petition.

3. That we invite the co-operation of other religious bodies within the State by the appointment of such agencies as they may deem best.

4. That in making this petition we do not contemplate any injury to our State schools within what we regard the rightful and proper limits of such institutions, but rather their improvement, as well as the protection of the interests which we represent.

JAMES ATKINS,  
JOHN R. BROOKS,  
J. H. WEAVER.

## ACTION OF THE BAPTIST STATE CONVENTION, DEC., 1893.

*Resolved*, That a committee of five brethren be appointed to memorialize the Legislature at the next session of that body on the friction and competition between the State schools and the denominational schools; and also to secure, if possible, such arrangements as will enable the schools founded and conducted by citizens to do their work without unnecessary competition with the State schools.

*Resolved*, That this committee be instructed to confer with similar committees, to be appointed by other religious bodies in the State, so as to secure concert of action.

The President appointed the following committee provided for by the resolutions: C. Durham, J. W. Carter, W. N. Jones, C. E. Taylor, W. A. Montgomery.

## TRUSTEES OF WAKE FOREST COLLEGE.

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of Wake Forest College, in Raleigh, April 11th, 1894, the following resolutions were adopted:

*Resolved 1.* That we commend the articles by the President of Wake Forest College, on "How Far Ought a State to Undertake to Educate," now being published in the *BIBLICAL RECORDER*, to a most thoughtful reading.

*Resolved 2.* That we would be pleased to see said articles in some more permanent form, and widely circulated among the people of the State.

## THE CHOWAN ASSOCIATION, MAY 23, 1894.

### *Subject—General Education.*

The speeches were clear, conservative, and most convincing to every one who heard them. The house was packed to its utmost capacity. The attention of every man and woman present was riveted on the speakers from first to last.

At the close of the discussion the following resolutions were adopted by a standing vote, not a single individual voting in the negative.

WHEREAS, Dr. C. E. Taylor has published in the *BIBLICAL RECORDER* a series of articles on "How Far Ought a State to Undertake to Educate;" and Whereas, these articles discuss questions of great and vital interest and of practical importance to all our people; therefore be it

*Resolved 1.* That, in the opinion of the Chowan Baptist Association—representing fifty-one churches, located in Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Dare, Gates, Perquimans, Pasquotank, Tyrrell and Washington counties, with a total of about eight thousand members—these articles are timely, important and wise.

*Resolved 2.* That in our opinion, the next Legislature ought to obey fully the Constitutional requirement to provide at least four a months public school in every school district in every county in the State.

*Resolved 3.* That in our opinion, no public funds, which can be appropriated by the Legislature for education, should be appropriated otherwise than for the "public schools."

The General Assembly of North Carolina has appropriated from the taxes of the people to the University at Chapel Hill, for the years 1891, 1892, 1893 and 1894—four years—the sum of one hundred and five thousand dollars; and has left the "public schools" with provisions for an annual session of only about three months.

In the Deerns Fund, the Francis Jones Smith Fund, the Alumni Loan Fund, the B. F. Moore Scholarships, the Mary Ann Smith Scholarships, the Thomas F. Wood Scholarships, the erection of Memorial Hall, and the endowment of the Chair of History at Chapel Hill—all in recent years—is demonstrated the natural and necessary workings of the adoption of the voluntary principle in support of all higher education contended for in "How Far Ought a State to Undertake to Educate."

It is, perhaps, impossible to send these circulars directly to all who would like to have them. It is suggested, therefore, that you, as a personal favor to your friends, place them in their hands. If you know of others who would be interested in this discussion, and will send us their address, they will be supplied. Address

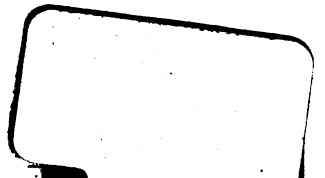
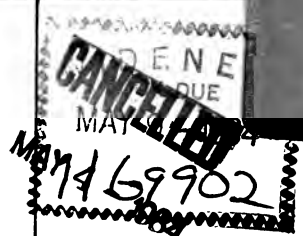
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